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FROM MISSION TO DIOCESE: THE ANGLICAN MISSION, RED RIVER SETTLEMENT, 1838-49

by

(C) RICHARD ALLAN WILLIE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have, read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "From Mission to Diocese: The Anglican Mission, Red River Settlement, 1838-49" submitted by Richard Allan Willie in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

During the years from its inception in 1820 to its absorption within the diocesan structure of the Anglican Church in 1849, the experience of the Anglican Red River Mission featured a number of salient historical developments. The circumstances and events surrounding this particular Mission's passage from mission outpost to diocese are the primary focus of this study. In identifying a point at which a drift towards diocesan status began, the year 1838 is especially useful. It marked an important turning point in the Mission's affairs. Prior to that date, the prevailing theme of activity was the expansion of the Mission's numbers through the development of satisfactory working relationships between the missionary and his parishioners. Although maintaining these relationships remained important after 1838, a new goal emerged to become the dominant theme in the Mission. The future security of the Anglican Mission in Red River and in the North West was the major concern of the Anglican mission staff after 1838. Perceiving manpower, competitive and obstructionist threats to the continuation of the Mission, they sought to preserve, to defend and to secure their interests. In time, the missionaries would also come to recognize that the establishment of a bishopric was an essential step if their ultimate hopes for greater security were to be realized. Therefore, when the decision to establish the diocese of Rupert's Land was made in 1849, the action was applauded in Red River. Having prepared the circumstances in the Settlement in which the

establishment of a bishopric would prove feasible, the missionaries welcomed the stability, the freedom from interference, and the guarantees that the bishopric promised to bring. The fresh sense of direction and the reorganization which coincided with the first Bishop assuming office was in fact the denouement in the quest for security which had begun a little over a decade before.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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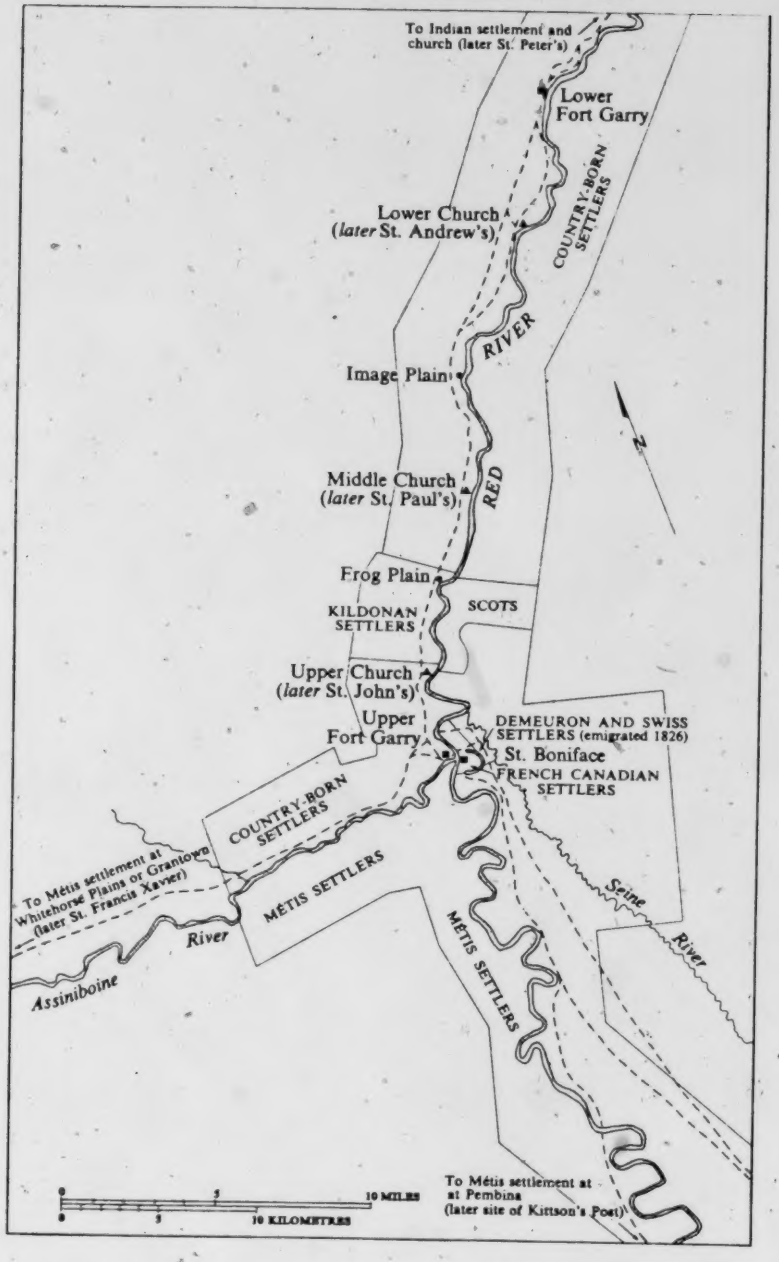
TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
ABSTRACT		iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS		vii
ABBREVIATIONS		viii
MAP--THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT IN 1835		ix
MAP--DIOCESE OF RUPERT'S LAND 1860-1872		x
INTRODUCTION		1
CHAPTER		
I	A SUCCESSFUL WORKING RELATIONSHIP ESTABLISHED: 1820-1838	18
	1. THE KILDONAN SCOTS	22
	2. THE COUNTRY-BORN	25
	3. PEGUIS AND HIS FOLLOWERS	32
II	THE FAILURE OF SUCCESS: WEAKNESSES, PERCEIVED THREATS AND MUCH UNCERTAINTY	40
	1. OVEREXTENDED MISSION--THE MANPOWER PINCH	41
	2. THE COMPANY AS CO-SPONSOR	52
III	A QUEST FOR SECURITY BEGINS: 1838-1844	63
	1. NEW MEN ARRIVE	66
	2. "LENGTHENING THE CORDS"	81
	3. "STRENGTHENING THE STAKES"	93
IV	DENOUEMENT, 1845-1849: THE BISHOPRIC ESTABLISHED	106
BIBLIOGRAPHY		132

ABBREVIATIONS

C.M.S.A.	Church Missionary Society Archives, Microfilmed documents in the Cameron Library, University of Alberta.
H.B.C.A.	Hudson's Bay Company Archives.
P.A.C.	Public Archives of Canada.
P.A.M.	Public Archives of Manitoba.

THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT IN 1835



Source: L. G. Thomas, ed., The Prairie West to 1905 (Toronto, 1975), p. 39.

LEGEND:

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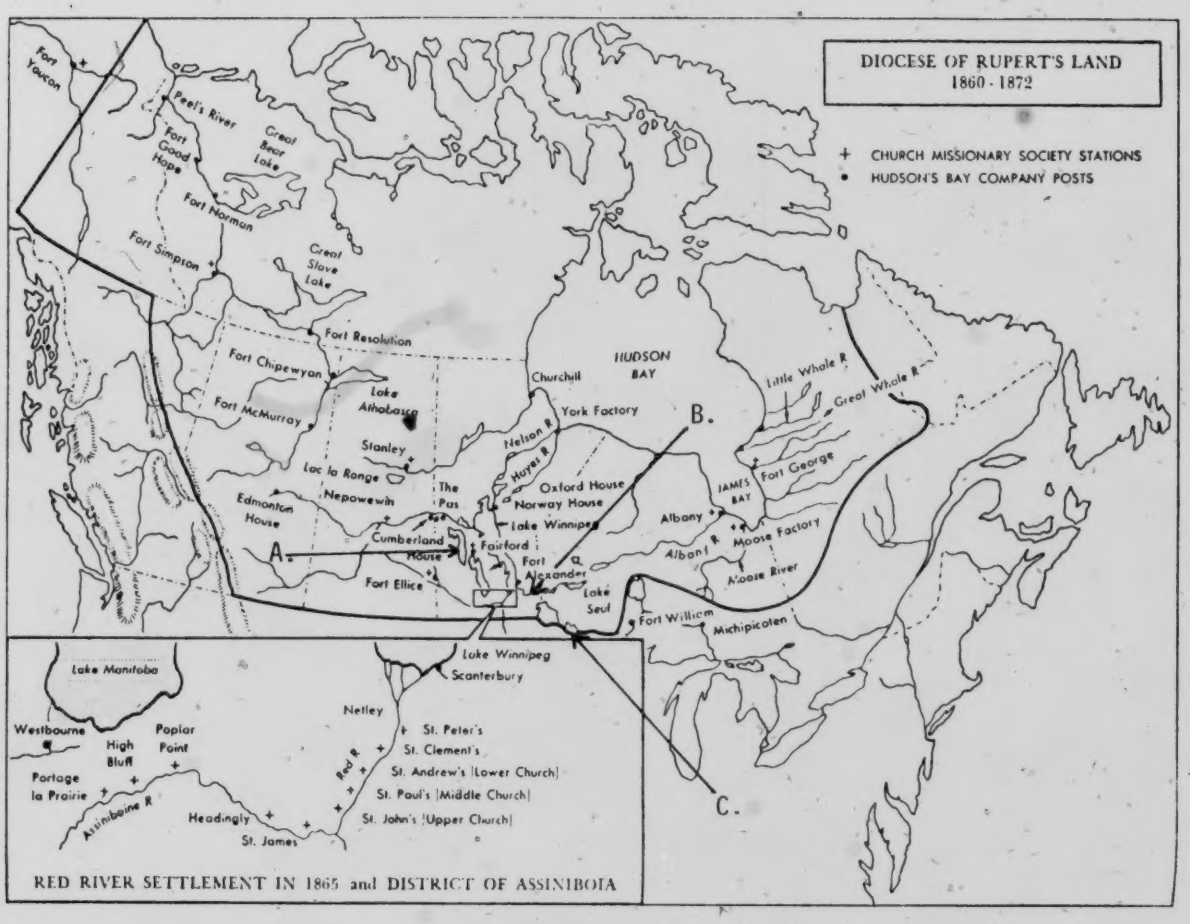
B. Wabassimong Falls

C. Rainy Lake



Source: T. C. B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies (Toronto, 1962), p. 84.

INTRODUCTION

The arrival in 1820 in the Red River Settlement of Rev. John West, Hudson's Bay Company Chaplain, marked the initial missionary enterprise of Evangelical Anglicanism in British North West America. In 1849, a generation and several missionaries later, the Anglican Mission emerged as a diocese with its own bishop, the Right Reverend David Anderson. The circumstances and events surrounding the transition of the Anglican Red River Mission from mission station to diocese are the subject of this study.

During the years from 1838 to 1849 the security and permanency of the Anglican Church in the North-West was of major concern to the Anglican missionaries in Red River. Having perceived serious threats to the perpetuation of their Mission, they enthusiastically supported actions which they hoped would strengthen the position of the Anglican Church in Red River. Desperately aware of mission staff shortages, sincerely convinced of a sectarian challenge from other Christian denominations for control and influence, and questioning the dependent nature of the relationship they had with the Hudson's Bay Company, they tried to preserve and defend the Anglican Red River Mission. The measures taken to realize this goal were to effectively rationalize the use of the new staff they received, to expand the Mission beyond the Settlement, and to attempt to consolidate an Episcopal hold in Red River. While some observers might view the efforts of the missionaries as counting for little, their work prepared the circumstances in which

the establishment of a bishopric would prove feasible. Although the stability, the freedom to act without restraint, and the guarantees that the missionaries were seeking eluded them, they would come to recognize that the establishment of a bishopric was essential if the permanency of the Anglican Church in Red River was to be ensured. The decision to establish the diocese of Rupert's Land was made in London, far beyond the direct influence of the missionaries in Red River. Nevertheless, the decision was in keeping with the missionaries' desire to secure the Mission's interests. Diocesan status also meant that the very particular circumstances of the Mission were made to conform to the traditional institutional practices of the parent church. In the final analysis, the Church proved quite flexible in adapting the diocesan form to the particular past experience of the Red River Mission.

The formation and early character of the Anglican Mission was to a large degree influenced by the nature of the relationship established between the two missionaries, David T. Jones and William Cockran,[1] and the three communities they served: the Kildonan Scots, the Country-born,[2] and the Cree and Saulteaux of Peguis'

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[1] For biographical details on Jones see Chapter 2 of T. C. B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies (Toronto, 1962), and for Cockran see Dictionary of Canadian Biography, IX, s.v. "Cockran, William," by J. E. Foster.

[2] J. E. Foster, "The Country-born in the Red River Settlement: 1820-1850" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1973), p. 4 offers a definition of the term: "Originating among the British born residents of Red River, possibly as a polite affectation, the term is not entirely satisfactory as its use suggests social class connotations. Apparently the term has particular reference to the mixed blood children of British born officers. Nevertheless, as the term defines a community distinct from the Métis, as it would have been recognized and understood by the community it designated, and as the term avoids the confusion in meaning and pejorative sense associated with 'Half-breed,' 'Country-born' appears to describe the second mixed blood community in Red River."

band.[3] In each case, the participants had, with varying degrees of success, adapted their previous experiences to a new social enironment. The social milieu of the Red River Settlement during this period was a reflection of the region's history. The Hudson's Bay Company, following its amalgamation with the North West Company in 1821, had encouraged their expendable employees to move to Red River where they would be able to "enjoy" the benefits of British churches, schools and civil government.[4] The two largest communities in the Settlement were composed of mixed bloods. The French-speaking Metis, generally chose to settle south and west of the fork of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers. Mainly buffalo hunters, their spiritual needs were ministered to by Roman Catholic priests from Quebec. English-speaking mixed bloods, or Country-born, settled on lots to the north of the junction of these two rivers. There

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Many of the first arrivals in the Settlement were British born retired officers or servants. By virtue of their positions and long service, they received land grants in Red River, where they settled with their mixed blood families. W. L. Morton in Manitoba: A History (Toronto, 1957), p. 67 refers to them. They "possessed both prestige and means," and formed the "natural aristocracy of the primitive community." These men are sometimes referred to as the "principal settlers." A second wave of immigrants, much larger in number, became the most significant group among the Country-born by virtue of their number. These families, lacking a British born male head, frequently were not eligible for land grants because of low status in the fur trade hierarchy or because of a short term of service. Most were desperately short of finances. This group, because of their closer association with the fur trade Indians or "homeguards," had many relatives among the Swampie Cree. The Swampies were attracted to the Settlement in large numbers during the early 1830's.

[3] Jones and Cockran were also called upon to extend an Anglican ministry to the officers and servants of the Company and their families. Small in number, the influence of this community was less significant in shaping the early character of the Mission than it would be later in determining the direction of activity in the Mission. See Chapter II, this thesis.

[4] J. E. Foster, "The Origins of the Mixed Bloods in the Canadian West," in Essays on Western History, ed. L. H. Thomas (Edmonton, 1976), p.77.

they soon surrounded and greatly outnumbered the remnants of Lord Selkirk's colonizing efforts, the Presbyterian Scots farmers of the Kildonan area. The greatest influx of Country-born into the Settlement occurred during the 1820's. It was not until the 1830's, however, that they were joined by Peguis' band, who resided at the Indian Settlement on the northernmost extremity of Red River.

Both Jones and Cockran, products of the Evangelical movement in England,[5] had set out with the goal of Christianizing and civilizing the natives according to the dictates of British example. The movement of which they were a part emerged in England at the close of the Eighteenth Century. Evangelical theology taught that man was by nature a lost soul, depraved and condemned to perdition but for the redeeming grace of salvation by faith. Conversion occurred through the properly understood "Word," while the soul was preserved for its eternal reward by the continual coercion and submission of the contrary will of man to the will of God. The validity of such a conversion became a function of subsequent behaviour. The serene death of a pious person was thought to be the ultimate proof of the correctness of the doctrine. Logic was not an Evangelical strong point. One observer suggests that the "theology of the Evangelicals was in general simple and direct . . . intended not to satisfy man's intellectual curiousity but to save his soul."[6] The

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[5] Elie Halévy, History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, Vol. I: England in 1815, trans. E. I. Watkin, 2nd rev. ed. (London, 1961), contains a most thoughtful survey of the Evangelical movement. The religious and social values of that movement emerge quite clearly in the letters and journals of the Church Missionary Society missionaries in Rupert's Land.

[6] L. E. Elliott-Binns, The Early Evangelicals: A Religious and Social Study (Greenwich, 1953), p. 383.

Evangelicals sought to revitalize their own society from within, in light of their understanding of scripture. Britain, despite its need for religious reformation, was seen as structurally sound and perceived as an ideal.[7]

Prompted by the Evangelical revival, diverse societies, with an intermingling of charitable and religious aims, were formed in England to proceed with the work of reforming society. Among them were the Evangelical missionary societies. Their organizers, believing in Great Britain's preeminent position in the world, felt a moral obligation to extend the benefits of Christianity and civilization to the less fortunate "heathen" of the world. The Church Missionary Society, informally associated with the Church of England, was the largest of many societies with this goal as their central purpose.[8] It was formed in 1799 by several members of the Clapham Sect and named the "Society for Missions to Africa and the East."[9] The Clapham Sect consisted of Evangelical Anglican laymen who supported legislative reforms and various pious activities. Benjamin Harrison, a member of the sect, was one of the directors of the London Committee of the Hudson's Bay

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[7]J. E. Foster, "The Anglican Clergy in the Red River Settlement 1820-1826" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1966), pp. 2-3.

[8]For information on the Society, see Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, 3 vols. (London, 1899). Other societies associated with the Church of England were the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Colonial and Continental Church Society, and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. See C. F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G., 2 vols. (London, 1901).

[9]The name was changed in 1812; however, the earlier name is indicative of the Society's major focus of interest and financial support. Arthur N. Thompson, "The Expansion of the Church of England in Rupert's Land from 1820-39 under the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1962), p. 203.

Company. It was Harrison who was most likely instrumental in securing the appointment of Rev. John West as the Company's chaplain in 1820.[9]

The protestant communities of Red River had motives other than those of a solely religious nature for participating in the affairs of the Mission. The Kildonan Scot community, though small in number in relation to the mixed blood and Indian population of the Settlement, was determined to preserve its culture, of which Presbyterianism was an essential part. W. L. Morton suggests that they were "wholly Scottish by nationality, still largely Presbyterian by faith."[10] Choosing to set themselves apart from the rest of the Colony, the Kildonan Scots tenaciously persevered in their resolve to earn their livelihood from the soil. "In a colony dominated by the fur trade, the majority of the denizens of which were hunters, tripmen or traders, the Scots dourly tilled their fields and tended their cattle."[11] Farming as a family unit was a tradition which was preserved, with minor alterations arising from environmental circumstances. Together with their refusal "to follow the hunt, or ply the oar, or set the net, they refused also to intermarry with the Indians or, to a degree, with the halfbreeds."[12] Steadfast adherence to their cultural traditions was a constant reminder of their identity and also, by implication, their "superiority."[13]

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[9]A. S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71 (London, 1939); reprint ed., Toronto, 1973), pp. 631-632.

[10]W. L. Morton, introduction to E. E. Rich, ed., Eden Colvile's Letters 1849-52 (London, 1956), p. xv.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Foster, "Anglican Clergy," p. 97. Most of the Scots attended Middle Church. They shared membership in the congregation with a part

They not only remained isolated from the rest of the Colony, they also were reserved, if not aloof, in their commitment to the Anglican Mission. They saw their association as being merely a temporary expedient.[14]

No other group responded to the invitation to participate as members of the Mission more enthusiastically than did the Country-born. As early as 1826 Cockran could boast that "the word flourishes most here amongst the halfbreeds."[15] Yet problems remained. Years of service in the fur trade and life around the Company's trading establishments left many of the Country-born ill-prepared to meet the uncertainties that awaited them in Red River. The two major economic alternatives available in Red River were farming and the buffalo hunt.[16] Few possessed the necessary technical or economic skills to become successful farmers, or the equestrian and other skills required of a buffalo hunter.[17]

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of the Country-born population. From time to time the congregation also served itinerant Indian families who had chosen to squat nearby. There seems to have been very little animosity displayed between the various interests. Alexander Ross, the Colony's historian and a leading spokesman for the Presbyterians, does, however, give evidence in his work that the mixed bloods and Indians were not held in high esteem by the Kildonans.

[14]Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement (London, 1856; reprint ed., Edmonton, 1972), p. 129.

[15]Church Missionary Society documents for Rupert's Land, Incoming Correspondence (hereafter I.C.), Cockran to the Secretary, July 29, 1826.

[16]The Company, under their monopoly, actively discouraged any illicit trade in furs. A small number of Country-born became petty traders but few were successful financially. See Ross, Red River Settlement, pp. 156-157.

[17]Only families with British born male heads may have had previous contact with European farming techniques. For most, garden plots which the Company operated at its fur trading establishments for provisioning purposes would have been the limit of their knowledge of farming. Most of the Country-born had lived among the "Homeguard Cree" of the Northern posts. They, unlike their Métis neighbours who had greater contact with the plains tribes near the Saskatchewan, had not

Circumstances compelled most to agriculture, a vocation in which their neighbours, the Kildonans, were far more successful.[19] Many also subsidized their farm income with seasonal employment as tripmen[20] on the Company's supply boats or those of private contractors. This was necessary because crops were never free from insects, blight or early frosts. Agricultural production increased as the population grew but the Colony did not become self-sufficient. There were a variety of reasons for this, including climate, economics and topography.[21] Economics alone, however, did not determine the lifestyle choice made by the Country-born in Red River. There is considerable evidence to suggest that previous cultural experience played an equally important role in decisions concerning economic activities that they would find acceptable.[22] The Anglican missionaries were not prepared to assist the Country-born in the nomadic pursuit of hunting, and frowned upon their work as tripmen.[23] Quite quickly, the mission relationship proved functional to

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developed equestrian skills. Nevertheless, a few did join the Métis hunters on the plains, especially when provisions were scarce. Marcel Giraud, Le Métis Canadian (Paris, 1945), p. 708.

[19]Donald Gunn and Charles Tuttle, History of Manitoba (Ottawa, 1880), p. 261.

[20]"Tripmen" and "tripping" were the vernacular terms in Rupert's Land for boat labourers and boat labour engaged by the Hudson's Bay Company and private contractors.

[21]See W. L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony," Canadian Historical Review XXX (December 1949):305-321.

[22]See Foster, "Origins of the Mixed Bloods," and "The Indian Trader in the Hudson's Bay Fur Trade Tradition," in Proceedings of the Second Congress, Canadian Ethnology Society, Vol. II, Mercury Series (Ottawa, n.d.).

[23]C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretary, August 11, 1828; August 7, 1829.

these newcomers. Through the labours of Rev. William Cockran, much needed technical advice and agricultural instruction was given to the Country-born migrants.[23] This was done in the hope that the Country-born would reap the benefits of living in a "Christian" and "British" community.

The success Cockran experienced in expanding farming operations at Grand Rapids (Lower Church) among the Country-born convinced him of the value of agricultural instruction as a means of persuading other newcomers to abandon their nomadic way of life. During the 1830's Cockran attempted to convince Chief Peguis and his followers to adopt both civilization and Christianity. An itinerant ministry to nomadic hunters would be both futile and irresponsible. He noted:

> I am sure that if I were to set out to convert the heathen by a journeying expedition, I should meet with more wolves and foxes than Indians, consequently I should become a common trapper. . . . The Hon. Company have from time to time sent out Schoolmasters but those invariably turned fur traders after the first winter.[24]

Therefore, Cockran wished to see a system of self-sufficient Christian villages located near Red River where the inhabitants could be conveniently supplied with necessities and supervised in their daily affairs. Being primarily dependent on agriculture, the inhabitants of these villages would then be able to turn away from their debilitating nomadic activities and become sedentary, the essential first step in becoming British and Christian.[25] Regional scarcities in game resources emphasized to several Indians the material benefits associated with the

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[23]Foster, "Cockran, William."

[24]C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretaries, July 25, 1833.

[25]Ibid., Cockran to the Secretary, August 11, 1828; August 7, 1829.

Mission.[26] As well, the missionaries could be powerful friends.

Historians writing on missionary labours in British North West America prior to 1870 have centered a great deal of their attention on the role which the missionaries played in the development of missions in particular, and society at large. Given the nature of most of the documentation available to researchers of missionary activity and missions, much of it penned by the missionaries themselves, it is not at all surprising to find that these clergymen have always figured prominently in explanations of social, cultural and political change. In early accounts, missionaries of every denomination are depicted as virtual paragons of righteousness. Their accomplishments and setbacks are strung together in rather piquant narratives. For example, Sarah Tucker's The Rainbow of the North,[27] which is based on Church Missionary Society documents, falls into this category. In pre-confederation social histories, the exploits of missionaries are not neglected either. In fact, the missionaries often loom larger than life and are always central to the development of missions. Alexander Ross' The Red River Settlement and J. J. Hargrave's Red River, both strongly influenced by Presbyterian biases, are examples.[28]

Standard histories of missionary work, such as T. C. Boon's The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies, A. G. Morice's History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada and J. H. Riddell's Methodism

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[26] Ibid., Cockran to Woodroofe, August 3, 1831.

[27] Sarah Tucker, The Rainbow of the North (London, 1851).

[28] Ross, Red River Settlement and J. J. Hargrave, Red River (Montreal, 1871) each provide valuable historical information and impressions in spite of their Presbyterian bias.

in the Middle West, although inclined towards particular denominations and lacking in critical analysis, are reasonably sound accounts and veritable storehouses of information.[29] Even a cursory glance through their pages, however, would lead one to believe that the growth and development of missions was synonymous with the deeds of an endless parade of demi-heroic missionaries. The process was somewhat more complex.

When professional historians began writing about both the regular clergy and the missionaries in the North West, it was to be expected that the role these men had played in the development of churches, missions and society would be subjected to a far more rigorous scholarly examination. Predictably, differing interpretations have emanated from this work. For example, a debate has arisen concerning the role that the clergy played in Red River. Marcel Giraud and W. L. Morton agree that the clergy of all denominations were responsible for whatever civilization existed in the Settlement.[30] They argue that the clergy, in interaction with the environment, the fur trade and the mixed bloods, produced a society delicately balanced between civilization and barbarism. The mixed bloods, according to this view, personified the balance that was achieved. On the other hand, Frits Pannekoek argues emphatically that the Anglican clergy, in particular, were primarily responsible for creating what proved to be a very brittle

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[29] Boon, Anglican Church; A. G. Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada from Lake Superior to the Pacific, 1659-1895, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1910); J. H. Riddell, Methodism in the Middle West (Toronto, 1946).

[30] See Giraud, Le Métis Canadien, pp. 693-709, 797-800, 847-856, 1063-1069 and W. L. Morton, introduction to Colvile's Letters, p. cxv.

society.[31] According to him, the Anglican clergy, through their teachings and actions, contributed to the steady deterioration of social balances in Red River. Regardless of the interpretation one finds most convincing, there seems to be an inescapable concern with the impact that missionaries had on particular societies.

The most recent scholarship on missionary activity in this region tends to fall roughly into three areas. The first area might be termed the fur-trade-civilization conflict, or the interdependence relationship, depending on one's view. The subject of study is the relationship between the fur traders of the Hudson's Bay Company and the missionaries. Arthur N. Thompson's article "John West: A Study in Conflict between Civilization and the Fur Trade" and T. C. B. Boon's article "The Archdeacon and the Governor: William Cockran and George Simpson at the Red River Colony 1825-65" are two excellent descriptions of the inevitable friction which arose between missionaries and fur traders.[32] The tendency in these cases is to view the Company as a bar to Christian civilization while the missionaries are characterized as overzealous champions of the cause of civilization and Christianity. N. J. Goosens points to another side of that relationship. In her

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[31]Frits Pannekoek, "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society, 1818-1870," in The West and the Nation, ed. Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook (Toronto, 1976).

[32]Arthur N. Thompson, "John West: A Study in Conflict between Civilization and the Fur Trade," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society XV (June 1973):35-44; T. C. B. Boon, "The Archdeacon and the Governor: William Cockran and George Simpson at the Red River Colony 1825-65," The Beaver (Spring 1968):41-49. Also see Frank A. Peake, "Fur Traders and Missionaries: Some Reflections on the Attitude of the Hudson's Bay Company Towards Missionary Work Among the Indians," Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology III (1972):72-93.

master's thesis, she argues that the "absence of amiability" apparent in some instances, tends to obscure the interdependence which existed.[34] Circumstances in the North West made mutual cooperation between fur trader and missionary imperative. All writers must of necessity touch on this fur trader-missionary contact theme; some accord it far greater scope and attention.

The second area of emphasis found in the literature is the "acculturation" view. Briefly, the focus of study is the nature of the impact of the actions and values of the missionary on the recipient or host society. This perspective is not new. In fact, it is a modern-day extension of the sound traditional work begun by Marcel Giraud and W. L. Morton. With the result that the perspective is largely one-dimensional. The missionary in this view is pictured as the link between the dominant Christian "donor" nation and the "host" society. The missionary functions as the "agent" of the dominant culture. For example, in W. L. Morton's work the missionary appears to take on an almost "saintly" role.

> It is in the work of the missionaries, both in their exclusive work as ministers of the Gospel, and also as educators and as legislators on the Council of Assiniboia, that the principal reason is to be found for the successful maintenance of civilization in Red River in its fifty years of isolation.[35]

In the work of Frits Pannekoek, this "acculturation" viewpoint is also very much in evidence. He tends to view the impact of the missionary in the process of social change, however, as a largely negative one.

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[34]Norma Jaye Goosens, "The Relationship of the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land, 1821 to 1860, With a Case Study of Stanley Mission Under the Direction of the Rev. Robert Hunt" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1973).

[35]W. L. Morton, Manitoba, p. 73.

The missionary is "miscreant" not "saint." At Red River, he writes, the Anglican clergy were to blame for not being able to strike a balance between the nomadic and sedentary life. Their missionary vision saw only self-sufficient agricultural missions.[36] Not only were they unable to strike a balance in their view of the socio-economic basis of life in Red River, they could not strike a moral balance either. Unintentionally, their teachings and actions had the deleterious effect of exacerbating social divisions along class, religious and racial lines. To a major degree, they contributed to the social disintegration and sectarian strife that marked the closing decade in Red River.[37] Jean Usher's William Duncan of Metlakatla - A Victorian Missionary in British Columbia[38] also places a great deal of emphasis on the role which the missionary played in the process of social change. In her account of the acculturation that takes place the missionary appears as neither "saint" nor "miscreant." Only Bishops are "miscreants" in her view. The missionary's metropolitan cultural reference point is interpreted as being more vital to the outcome of mission contact than are the interactions of the missionary and his native parishioners.

Those scholars whose work falls into the third area of emphasis have by no means abandoned interest in the acculturation process. Where they differ is in the manner in which they approach the question. They

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[36] Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Zions for the Western Indian," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society XIV (September 1972):55-66.

[37] Pannekoek, "The Rev. Griffiths Owen Corbett and the Red River Civil War of 1869-70," Canadian Historical Review LVII (June 1976): 133-149.

[38] Jean Usher, William Duncan of Metlakatla - A Victorian Missionary in British Columbia, Publications in History, #5 (Ottawa, 1974).

focus on the relationships which existed between the missionaries, their flock, and others with whom they may have had substantial contact. By paying greater attention to the interaction which occurred, new and important insights into the effects of such contact have been gained. A significant contribution of this type is Robin Fisher's Contact and Conflict.[39] In the context of Red River, this approach, in which missionary relationships are the focus of attention, is demonstrated in John Foster's article "Program for the Red River Mission: The Anglican Clergy 1820-1826."[40] Although the missionaries remain the central and most influential characters in the life of the mission, an effort is made to view their triumphs and setbacks as a function of the nature of the relationship that they established with their parishioners. By using this perspective it is possible to reduce the likelihood of exaggerating or distorting the role of the missionary.

That the missionaries played a prominent role in the development of missions is inquestionable. In every type of historical interpretation he assumes center stage. This being the case, the way in which their personalities and actions are portrayed is crucial in forming an accurate assessment of the role they played in the process of social change. Since the "spotlight" so often falls on the missionary, there is a danger of treating him as a "star" in the historical narrative. His performance then emerges as that of a hero, champion of causes, saint or sinner. Meanwhile, the true character and real motives of the

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[39]Robin Fisher, Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890 (Vancouver, 1977).

[40]J. E. Foster, "Program for the Red River Mission: The Anglican Clergy 1820-1826," Social History IV (November 1969):49-75.

individual missionary may be lost or only partially appreciated. In singling out the missionary for special treatment, there is also a danger of imposing a double standard. Because he purports to be a man of God, there may be a tendency to judge his shortcomings more harshly than those of other historical characters. As a result, when things go well, he is praised and when they go awry, he is condemned. If, in the context of the relationships he forms, the missionary becomes the key focus of attention rather than the missionary as a detached or isolated figure imposing his will or leadership on others, then there is opportunity for greater understanding of the role he is able to play in influencing societal direction and change. His intimate association with and acceptance by those he serves or has contact with, as well as his personality and abilities, may limit his choice of action. Indeed, his seeming inability to act or the inappropriateness of his actions could be misjudged unless seen in light of his relations with his flock, his colleagues and any other influential parties connected with the mission.

The year 1838 proved to be a watershed in the twenty-nine-year-long career of the Anglican Red River Mission. Jones departed Red River that year, leaving his colleague, Cockran, with the enormous task of ministering alone to the needs of the entire protestant sector of Red River. The event is significant in that it marked an important turning point in the activities of the Anglican mission staff in Red River. Prior to that date, the primary emphasis had been to develop and expand upon the working relationship that Jones and Cockran had formed with residents during the early years of the mission Settlement. The kinds of relationships which were developed during the period from 1820 to

1838 were influenced by the changes in social milieu, the previous cultural experiences of the participants, the willingness of the three communities to adjust or adapt to new situations, and finally, the flexible, yet otherwise different ministerial styles of Jones and Cockran. One of the elements most distinctly characteristic of the relationship that was operational during this period was the attempt made by the missionaries to meet the individual needs of parishioners as they perceived them. Another was the leadership these two men provided for the Protestant communities and the loyalties they elicited from them. The goal of the two men was the same, although the particulars of their respective ministries differed. The creation of "a little Britain in the wilderness,"[41] through their evangelizing and civilizing efforts, was their goal. After Jones' departure that goal remained important as did the evolving mission relationships. Circumstances, however, made the urgent pursuit of another goal seem paramount. A quest for greater security rapidly replaced the development and expansion of successful working relationships with parishioners as a dominant consideration of the missionaries. The problem of securely establishing the Mission on a more solid base was the major point at issue throughout the years from 1838 to 1849. The issue was not finally resolved until the diocese was established in 1849.

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[41] Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area 1818-1870" (Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1973), Chapter III; C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretaries, August 18, 1836.

CHAPTER I

A SUCCESSFUL WORKING RELATIONSHIP ESTABLISHED: 1820-1838

In their report to the Church Missionary Society in 1835,[1] Rev. David Jones and Rev. William Cockran reflected on the achievements of the previous fifteen years. They thought that the Lord had richly blessed their work. Although they admitted that much remained to be done, they took pride in the expansion of the Mission since its inauguration in 1820. Their goal of Christianizing and civilizing the inhabitants of Red River was much nearer realization than it had been fifteen years before. As the Society never satisfactorily resolved the question of whether to direct its missionaries to seek civilization or Christianity first,[2] early missionaries such as Jones and Cockran attempted to achieve both simultaneously. In spite of the confusion this tended to engender, the "Word" was energetically proclaimed and the benefits of a "civilized" life were actively promoted. The formation and early character of the Anglican Red River Mission, however, was more than the product of missionary effort. The Mission was also the result of a strong working relationship formed between the missionary and the parishioner.

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[1] C.M.S.A., I.C., Report of the State of Religion, Morality and Education at the Red River Settlement and Grand Rapids, by Revd. Messrs. Jones and Cockran, n.d. (rec'd October 28, 1835).

[2] Jean Usher, "Apostles and Aborigines: The Social Theory of the Church Missionary Society," Social History VII (April 1971):37.

In addition to cultural background, the working relationship was influenced by the desire of the member communities to adapt to new circumstances and by the pragmatically flexible, though very different, ministerial styles of Jones and Cockran. The efforts of Jones and Cockran to meet the individual needs of parishioners as they perceived them and the style of leadership that the two missionaries provided served to underline the functional nature of the Mission. By choosing to become members of the Mission, the Kildonan Scots farmers, the Country-born settlers and the Indian hunters of Peguis' band recognized and employed the Mission as a vehicle through which to pursue individual and community goals. For those individuals with apparently sincere Christian convictions, the Mission provided many opportunities to be fed by the "Word." But other opportunities, of a much less religious nature, seemed to be available. The Selkirk Scots community rigidly adhered to the Presbyterian aspects of their heritage which they considered essential to their cultural integrity. For the Country-born the Mission promoted an agreeable alternative lifestyle to that of the trading post in an unfamiliar physical and social environment. Newcomers to Red River, the Country-born found that it was indeed possible for them to adapt to Anglican parish life and routine since it proved to be both economically viable and culturally satisfying.[3] Although

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[3]By 1835 there were four locations where divine worship was held: Upper Church, Middle Church, Lower Church, and in the schoolhouse at the Indian Settlement. According to Jones and Cockran, the total membership of the Mission exceeded 1,600 souls. C.M.S.A., I.C., Report of the State of Religion, Morality and Education of the Red River Settlement and Grand Rapids, by Revd. Messrs. Jones and Cockran, n.d. (rec'd October 28, 1835). The best demographic study of the Colony to date is Barry Kaye, "Some Aspects of the Historical Geography of the Red River Settlement" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1967).

they were at first reluctant to join, Peguis and his followers found that their attachment to the Mission offered a way in which they could meet the basic needs of the band in the face of regional scarcities in game resources.[4] Measured in terms of the increasing number of members and mission stations, the Mission and the working relationships that supported it were largely successful. Some difficulties, however, had been encountered earlier.

J. E. Foster identified the period 1820-1826 as foundation years in the development of the Mission.[5] He claims that the record of the Mission during those years was actually one of failure, but that the period was followed by one in which the missionaries enjoyed a large measure of success. Foster points to several causes for the changing fortunes of the Anglican Mission effort in Red River after 1826.

First, the missionaries made a satisfactory adjustment to their new surroundings during this period. Their adjustment involved meeting and adequately dealing with a variety of tasks. Buildings were constructed while sufficient provisions were acquired. The missionaries had to establish workable relations with their co-sponsors, the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company, as well as the various communities then resident in the Settlement. Finally, having assessed their surroundings and their own strengths, they had to decide on a course of action. The appropriate course of action was the development of adequate "means of persuasion."

The missionaries developed and successfully operated a missionary program designed to bring to the inhabitants of the Settlement the

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[4]Ibid.

[5]Foster, "Anglican Clergy."

benefits of Evangelical Christianity and British civilization. The aims of the program were met through the use of various religious and educational means of persuasion; such as for adults, church services, prayer meetings and pastoral visits, and for children, schools. Developing effective means of persuasion was in fact their principal objective.

The third important factor was the changing nature of socio-political relations in the Settlement. Tensions and conflict between individuals in the Settlement and the Company over the illicit trade in furs highlighted Rev. John West's tenure in Red River.[6] The illicit trade offered an attractive alternative to the missionary's message of hope and salvation. For many of the inhabitants who had learned their values in the fur trade, the dream of the "good" life through participation in the trade functioned as a kind of "religion." Fear that the illegal traffic would bring anarchy to the Settlement subsided when Governor George Simpson introduced a system for licensing free-traders under Company auspices. His policies successfully diminished the attractions of the illicit trade for most and led to the abandonment of the fur trade for the peace and security of the Mission. The spring flood of 1826 marked the beginning of a new era in the Settlement's and the Anglican Mission's existence. In the Settlement, plots against and resistance to various authorities disappeared in the common struggle to survive and then to rebuild after the devastation. Compared to the unsettling events of the years prior to the flood, little occurred after

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[6]Rev. John West was replaced by Rev. David Jones in 1823. There is considerable evidence which suggests that John West may have alienated as many people as he attracted to the Mission. Two valuable critiques of West's work are: Foster, "Program," and Thompson, "John West."

1826 to disturb the seasonal routine in the Settlement. Crops were generally good and the population was peaceful. For the Mission, failure would give way to success. That this success was sustained into the 1830's was in large part the result of the evolution of sound working relationships between the two missionaries, Jones and Cockran, and their Selkirk, Country-born and Indian parishioners.

1. THE KILDONAN SCOTS

Commitment on the part of the Kildonan Scots to the Anglican Mission was at best ambivalent. The Mission was encouraged to the degree that it functioned to provide regular worship opportunities and to meet the ever present need to solemnize marriages and carry out burials in dignity. Had participation prevented the community from affirming its cultural heritage, however, they would have ended the relationship. Alexander Ross emphasized some years later:

> The Scotch [sic] settlers, . . . had brought their religion into the country along with them - a religion as dear to them as their lives, and which they never could conscientiously change without abandoning their first faith. Hence the reason why they never could, nor would, become reconciled to the Church of England, notwithstanding they went to that church in the absence of their own.[7]

Necessity alone had forced a compromise over the matter of Presbyterian participation in the Anglican Mission. The Colonists, although at first uncooperative,[8] had no other choice but to accept the ministry of John West, the Hudson's Bay Company chaplain, with the hope of acquiring at a later date a minister of their own faith. This hope was

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[7] Ross, Red River Settlement, p. 129.

[8] John West, The Substance of a Journal during a Residence in the Red River Colony (London, 1824), p. 27.

not fulfilled until the arrival of Rev. John Black in 1851.[9] Apparently, prior to 1820, Lord Selkirk and the original settlers had reached an agreement whereby a Presbyterian minister who spoke Gaelic would be sent out. Although a candidate was selected, he never arrived.[10] When the Company took over responsibility for the Colony in 1835-36, this obligation, which had never been recorded in writing, remained unfulfilled. Alexander Ross stated that when the Colony's affairs passed from Lord Selkirk's executors to the Company, the Kildonan community again began to hope that this outstanding grievance would be settled.

> The introduction of laws and regulations into the colony imported a degree of confidence that all would now work well in Church as well as in State, and that the poor and neglected Presbyterians might, even at the eleventh hour, be put in the possession of their rights.[11]

Though there was intermittent agitation throughout the 1830's concerning this matter,[12] most of the Scots continued to accept, with some affection, the services of Jones and Cockran.

Cooperation with the Church of England clergy was inhibited more by religious and cultural biases than by any difficulties experienced in adjusting to the missionaries' expectations. The conventional Christian practices of the community's members facilitated the development of a working relationship with their pastors. The Scots did not find their

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[9] George Bryce, John Black: The Apostle of Red River (Toronto, 1898) and Olive Knox, John Black of Old Kildonan (Toronto, 1966) together provide an overview of the man's career.

[10] Hargrave, Red River, p. 103.

[11] Ross, Red River Settlement, p. 181.

[12] On one occasion when the Kildonans petitioned for a minister of their own faith, they claimed that the older members of their community understood only Gaelic. See H.B.C.A., D. 4/18, Simpson to W. Smith, November 26, 1830.

Evangelical ministers' emphasis on certain social patterns of behaviour distasteful. The sanctity of private property, the solidarity of marriage and family, and a sense of responsibility to the community did not have to be communicated to them by the missionaries. These values were already understood and frequently demonstrated in their daily lives. Their social behaviour and general demeanour was frequently the subject of clerical commendation.[13] Exemplary is the term that most suitably describes their outward religious observance of church services and prayer meetings.

In their efforts to meet their parishioners' views of their religious needs, Jones and Cockran inadvertently met the needs of the Scots in a manner different from that which was intended. Church services and the various rites and sacraments, in addition to being a forum for spreading the message of Evangelical Anglicanism, provided an opportunity for the Kildonan Scots community to gather together. At these church gatherings and through other community events, the homogeneity of the group was constantly reaffirmed. For example, the Kildonans began week night prayer meetings in the homes of parishioners,[14] but later on the missionaries added the meetings to the program of the Mission. These ostensibly religious meetings were also social gatherings, ideally suited to call attention to their cultural inheritance.

Jones' flexibility as a pastor seemed to be the ingredient that the Kildonan Scots community required in order to accept him as their religious leader. At first the indifferent attitude of the Scots community bothered Jones.

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[13] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretary, July 29, 1826.

[14] Ibid., Jones, Journal, October 15, 1823.

> The Scotch [sic] Settlers puzzle me in forming an opinion of their state in regard to religion: the majority of them appear well disposed - are very attentive to the means of grace - can talk well on any point of doctrine - and are zealous in the performance of those duties deemed of weight in the moral estimation of character: but all of this is blended with much self consequence.[15]

Regardless of his personal assessment of them as a religious community, Jones' efforts to adjust Anglican forms to mollify Presbyterian biases won him respect. "Always kind and indulgent to his hearers, he now laid aside such parts of the liturgy and formulas of the Episcopalian Church as he knew were offensive to his Presbyterian hearers." He also "held prayer meetings among them after the custom of their own church." At these meetings "all was extempore, which raised him higher than ever in their estimation," particularly when "they knew that he could only do so at the risk of forfeiting his gown."[16] Respect for Jones alone, however, was not enough to transform their ambivalent attitude into wholehearted support for the Mission. Dissatisfaction with the failure of the Mission to find an adequate replacement for Jones after his departure in 1838, in addition to the growing Episcopal character of the Mission during its transition from Mission to diocese, would play a significant part in the activities which led up to their withdrawal from the Anglican Church in the early 1850's.

2. THE COUNTRY-BORN

Unlike their Kildonan neighbours, the Country-born were enthusiastic participants in the Anglican Mission. That is not surprising since their need for it was greater. As new arrivals in an unfamiliar

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[15] Ibid., December 24, 1824.

[16] Gunn and Tuttle, History of Manitoba, p. 267.

setting, many faced severe economic hardships. The temporary relief supplied by the mission farm and the agricultural instruction provided by Cockran would prove to be most helpful. But that alone does not explain their eager pursuit of salvation or the strong working relationship which developed between the missionary and his flock. Certain aspects of the socio-cultural experience of the fur trade made participation in the Mission appear very attractive to them. Adaptation to life in the Mission allowed them to pursue the things in life which their previous cultural experience had defined as acceptable. Also, Cockran's personality, practical ability and physical appearance made him an attractive leader.

Large numbers of Country-born migrants arrived in Red River each year during the latter part of the 1820's. The desperate circumstances of many deeply concerned Cockran. From his perspective, they were being paid "the wages of sin."[17] The solution was simple. They must abandon their "barbarism" and become "civilized." In order to pursue his goal of evangelizing and civilizing among them he added the mission farm to the already tested techniques of persuasion. Evidently, Cockran hoped to win the Country-born from their nomadism and "barbarism" and convince them of the value of living a sedentary agricultural existence.

At first his mission farm helped to alleviate the poverty of his parishioners as they received charitable assistance in the form of produce during times of need. In addition, the farming operations begun by Cockran at the Upper Church in 1827 furnished the missionary and his flock with a laboratory in which to experiment with crops, and with a

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[17] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretaries, August 5, 1835.

model farm to demonstrate the practical skills necessary for successful agriculture in the Settlement. Cockran, from a rural background, clearly considered agricultural instruction to be an essential element of his work.

> I harangued all who ever came into my way, about cultivating the soil, rather than depending upon the chase; and often attempted to prove the impossibility of living comfortably, or in the fear of God, by any other means.[18]

Besides being the "labour appointed by God to man" he later described how it was the only practicable means of keeping his congregation together for worship and instruction.[19]

In 1829, as the Country-born began to settle on river lots north of Upper and Middle Churches, Cockran repeated the experiment. Included in the new mission extension, which would become the Lower Church parish, was an expanded mission farm. Again Cockran instructed young and old alike in the fundamental aspects of animal husbandry and in the planting, nurturing, harvesting and storage of suitable vegetable crops. That same year he expressed his thoughts on the value of this work. "Let it not be thought that it detracts from the dignity of a clergyman in Red River to be found holding the plough, it increases his value."[20] He obviously recognized that in first meeting the material needs of his parishioners, the way was prepared for attention to spiritual concerns.

Less firmly attached to an agricultural way of life than the Kildonans, the Country-born nevertheless actively sought Mission membership. Foster argues that many of the Country-born aspired to imitate the

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[18] Ibid., July 25, 1833.

[19] Ibid., August 3, 1838.

[20] Ibid., August 3, 1829.

style of life of an "Indian Trader" in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company.[21] One of the characteristics which set the "Indian Trader" apart from his inferiors in trading post society was his ability to read and write in English. In Red River the schools operated by the missionaries "democratized opportunity" in that they furnished the Country-born with a way in which to develop a competency in English. Here, according to Foster, was one way in which the characteristics of an "Indian Trader" might be emulated. The schools were valued because they offered the possibility of increasing one's status in cultural terms understandable to the Country-born.

Prior to their arrival in Red River from the trading posts, the Company's officers had planned and supervised the daily routine of many of the Country-born. Apparently lacking, in many instances, the motivation of a "self-starter," the Country-born profited much from Cockran's supervisory skills and encouragement. A prominent descendant of one of the Country-born families that Cockran influenced recalled his labours thus:

> It was Mr. Cochran's [sic] custom, when farming operations commenced in the spring of the year, to ride along the bank of the river, and if he saw a plowman who was doing poor work, he would dismount, talk kindly and encouragingly to him, and make such changes in the rigging of the plow and in the hitching of the oxen as he considered necessary, then go a round or two with the man and perhaps make further changes, until everything worked satisfactorily. And so he went through the parish assisting in all things.[22]

Cockran also seemed to understand the need to elicit personal loyalty to himself. The right man for the right time, he possessed

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[21] Foster, "Origins of the Mixed Bloods," pp. 77-78.

[22] Colin Inkster, "William Cochran," in Leaders of the Canadian Church, II, ed. W. B. Heeney (Toronto, 1920), p. 44.

many of the attributes of a "leader" in trading post society. The Country-born's acceptance of Cockran's leadership is understandable. Brigade guides such as Alexis L'Esperance and "Paulette" Paul were responsible for the safe conduct of the York Brigades. They led their men through difficulties, transacted business affecting their interest and chastised the shirker. J. J. Gunn describes the brigade guide: "With physical strength must have been combined a readiness of resource equal to every emergency and courage of the sort that never stops to reckon danger - courage to dare, and will, and strength to do."[23] "Paulette" Paul was a man adored by the tripmen.

> A giant in stature and strength . . . with a voice like thunder and a manner as blustery and boisterous as March, . . . ever the first to strip to the waist and stand forth to claim . . . honour for the Blaireau.[24]

Cockran was strongwilled, practically skilled, and possessed notable physical prowess.[25] His work among men who knew the customs of the fur trade made Cockran aware of the advantage his physical stature gave him. Men who understood the authority of the brigade leader and fur trader would accept his direction. Although they responded to his kindness and paternal interest in their welfare, their respect for him was sometimes rooted in fear:

> Once this spring . . . two . . . characters were drunk and fought & abused each other in the most brutal manner, after the excitement I went to them & preached Jesus as the only Saviour; they silenced

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[23] J. J. Gunn, Echoes of the Red (Toronto, 1930), pp. 52-58. Although Gunn writes in a style which is romantic and folksy, his descriptions of the voyageurs and York Brigades are quite useful.

[24] Ibid.

[25] George Bryce, The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company (London, 1902), p. 299.

> me; I preached hell and damnation to them; One replied "I am no more afraid of God than I am afraid of an old wife. I have never seen him cast men into Hell; If I saw him throwing men into Hell, perhaps I might be afraid. Oh! had you told me you would do something bad to me, I would tremble like a tree shaken by the wind; I am afraid of you, but not of God. You have a strong arm, if you grow properly angry you could break my bones."[26]

The creed of the Evangelical Anglican missionary put a premium on individual religious experiences, the validity of which was demonstrated in subsequent social and moral behaviour. When the missionary constantly stressed the need for a reformation in behaviour, at church functions[27] and during pastoral visits,[28] it was a message not lost on the Country-born community. Reform itself was difficult, but no doubt the Country-born sensed the need for changes in order to adapt to their new social and domestic situations. Here as well, the Mission served a useful function. It taught social skills which the missionaries deemed acceptable. Change was imperative from Cockran's perspective. "I find that fur trading and voyaging have made them the most base, unprincipled, immoral people that inhabit this Continent." Vices which had to be eliminated, or at least controlled, were "Indolence, treachery, falsehood, cruelty, extravagance, cunning, ingratitude, sensuality, selfishness, pride and superstition." These, he thought, must be "exchanged for the wishes of the Gospel."[29] It would appear that the Country-born were willing to reject practices associated with instability in family and community life. But they retained aspects of their former life which

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[26] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretary, August 1, 1840.

[27] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretaries, August 8, 1836.

[28] Ibid., February 6, 1833.

[29] Ibid., July 25, 1833.

they deemed acceptable but about which Cockran expressed displeasure.[30] To this extent, their participation in the mission relationship was a selective one.

In time, the Mission grew into an institution through which its members were able to express some of their important social needs. As their social world became more stable, many of the obligations of kinship and regular social interchange took place under the ever present mantle of the Mission. Where possible Cockran facilitated such exchanges. He came to value this form of ministry highly. "It is not in the house of God that we learn the true characters of our hearers; it is in mixing with them in their fields, in their houses, at their funerals, and baptisms, and in the sick chamber."[31] Religious rites such as baptisms, marriages and funerals were occasions for a gregarious people to meet, share gossip, and generally identify with the community. Regular Sunday church services and week-night prayer meetings also brought the community together. These occasions provided an opportunity to express a variety of motives. Cockran was under no illusions in this respect. "Some young person has come [to church] to show his horse and carriole; another who has got a clear voice, to sing; a third to see an acquaintance; and a fourth to hear the news of the day."[32]

Through his constant compassionate involvement in the affairs of his parishioners, Cockran gained the loyalty and respect of his Country-born parishioners. He was able to offer advice, counsel and understanding during family disputes, at times of illness or death, or on

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[30] Foster, "Country-born," p. 193.

[31] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran, Journal, April 21, 1834.

[32] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretaries, October 25, 1836.

occasions of scarcity and need. When death struck a family the missionary provided invaluable aid. He made funeral arrangements and preparations for the future welfare of the remaining family members. For the adult male members of the Mission the performance of church related tasks rewarded them with social approval. For example, management of church affairs, selecting a teacher, or undertaking required construction jobs, brought the men together with their spiritual leader to make decisions and to do work for the benefit of all concerned.[33] Through their continual close association with the missionary, the community not only developed a sense of loyalty towards Cockran as leader but also towards the Mission as a valuable entity.

For this first generation of Country-born in Red River, the Anglican Mission brought some economic security; more important, it provided a cultural alternative that met their needs. Judging from their response to the Mission, it was a central and influential factor in their lives. The only other institution strong enough to compete for their allegiance, the Hudson's Bay Company, did not touch their lives in such a direct, benevolent or personal way.

3. PEGUIS AND HIS FOLLOWERS

Of the three communities that composed the Anglican Mission, Peguis' band was initially the most inhibited about membership. Those inhibitions appear to have been overcome when the material advantages of participation began to outweigh cultural obstacles. The cultural distance between missionary and prospective parishioners was indeed great in

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[33]For examples see Ibid., October 25, 1836 and July 30, 1831.

this case. The sedentary agricultural existence that Cockran deemed essential to civilizing and Christianizing was in his view the very antithesis of the nomadic lifestyle of the band of hunters and trappers who looked to Chief Peguis for leadership. Cockran, commenting on his work among them, expressed his frustrations with the cultural distance that separated them: "Often I exhaust all the similies of their mode of life, and find the truth only partially conveyed."[34]

Shortly after his arrival in Red River, Cockran noted that the Indians were not concerned with things "which belong to their souls."[35] Rather they were, as he saw it, completely "occupied about things of the body." He pointed out that "Their principal enquiries are: What shall we eat? What shall we drink? And how shall I get a blanket?"[36] Cockran's awareness of these concerns no doubt prompted his decision to entice them to settle with gifts of food and clothing. Peguis, however, was clever enough to know that the missionaries could be useful friends. Regular visits with them, whether in poor circumstances or not, usually elicited a gift of food. Perhaps even more important from his perspective, was the fact that Cockran appeared to be a man of considerable influence in the Colony. Cultivating a working relationship with such a man could prove quite helpful.

During the fall of 1831 Cockran met several times with Peguis and his small band of Saulteaux Indians.[37] His band was in the habit of

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[34]Ibid., Cockran, Journal, December 16, 1835.

[35]Ibid., Cockran to the Secretary, July 29, 1826.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid., Cockran, Journal, October 13, 16, 17, 28, 1831.

retiring to the vicinity of Red River in the summer season to fish and to attend their mediwiwin (medicine) feast.[38] During the winter they broke up into smaller groups to hunt and to trap. By the spring of 1832, Peguis had agreed to allow Cockran to commence farming operations at a place near Netley Creek called "Sugar Point."[39] After two unsuccessful crop years at that location and after being very much disillusioned by the poor response of the Saulteaux, Cockran set out to find a more suitable site. The new site at Cook's Creek was closer, about three miles upstream, to the established parishes to the south. Cockran was able to persuade Peguis and a few of his followers to relocate there.[40] During the summer and fall of 1833 Cockran built a house that was to serve as a school and a store. School was opened in the fall and put under the supervision of a Country-born catechist, Joseph Cook. At the same time, tales of plenty attracted increasing numbers of Swampie Cree from Norway House and York Factory, many of whom had relatives amongst the Country-born. Squatting near their relations, they became a nuisance as well as a heavy drain on the Settlement's meagre food resources. Cockran, concerned about the irritating effect they were having on his settled parishes, encouraged them to settle with Peguis' band at the Indian Settlement.[41] The Indian Settlement continued to

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[38] See Diamond Jenness, The Indians of Canada, Bulletin 65, Anthropological Series No. 15 (Ottawa, 1963), p. 280 for information on mediwiwin or metawin celebrations.

[39] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran, Journal, February 2, May 3, 1832.

[40] Ibid., June 20 and July 4, 1833.

[41] The "Indian Settlement" was known to the settlers of Red River as the territory extending from the northern extremity of settled Country-born river lots to Lake Winnipeg. "Indian Settlement" also had

grow as more houses were constructed and more land was cultivated. By 1836 circumstances appeared promising enough to begin the construction of a church. It was dedicated on January 4, 1837.[42]

Cockran's benevolently paternalistic view of his Indian charges at the Indian Settlement determined the approach he would take in ministering to them. As with the other two communities, the goal was to civilize and evangelize. But in meeting the needs of the Indians in terms acceptable to them, and in providing meaningful leadership, he would have to be both innovative and sensitive. He explained that "He is a child in the art of civilization, you must become his father; act for him as you would act for a child, and teach him the same way."[43] His ministry among them was very much a reflection of this viewpoint.

The Mission appeared to offer attractions to Indian families who would give up their nomadic life. Small houses were built for those who chose to settle, and agricultural instruction was provided. Oxen and a plough man broke ground; seed, tools and fishnets were distributed. In some cases livestock was also given to prospective settlers so that animal husbandry could begin. School children received a daily allowance of food and two sets of clothing a year.[44] In time Cockran noted that the children wished to farm and their parents were no longer as critical of the Mission for "enslaving their children."[45] Other

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a more specific meaning. It could refer to the precise location of the second site where mission work was undertaken among the Indians.

[42] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran, Journal, January 4, 1837.

[43] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretaries, Private, July 20, 1833.

[44] Ibid., Cockran, Journal, May 10, 1837.

[45] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretaries, August 2, 1839.

benefits further enhanced the worth of the Mission from the Indian's perspective. Schools for children and Sunday School for adults provided instruction in English. In time they viewed a facility with the English language as necessary for a successful settled life. Rev. John Smithurst, pastor of the Indian Church after 1839, reported in 1847 that the "Indians are shrewd enough to know that their interest in temporal matters depends upon a knowledge of English."[46]

Regular attendance at church functions became a principal focus of community life. Close community relations were possible at the Indian Settlement as most of the members lived within a three mile radius of the church. The Cree and Saulteaux languages survived, denoting a distinct community. The catechist, Joseph Cook, translated the liturgy and sermons, making them comprehensible to the Indian worshippers. For those, like Peguis, whose Christian commitment had flowered, attachment to the Mission ensured that their faith would be nurtured continually.

Cockran very wisely did not seek to impose a harsh discipline upon the Indian children. Thus he avoided alienating parents unused to English child-rearing practices. His policy was, if not culturally sensitive, then humanly sensitive. He explained: "They [the Indian students] are frequently seized with a peculiar malady which they call 'thinking long.' When under this you cannot amuse them, and make them take exercise," and "they soon sicken and die. At the Indian Settlement our discipline is very loose, we allow the children to hunt or fish whenever they are disposed, and I think we have greatly diminished the

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[46]Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 5, 1847.

fatal causes of it."[47]

The residents of the Indian Settlement seemed to respond to Cockran's constant supervision, his cajoling, and even to his threats of physical violence. On one occasion when an Indian refused to cooperate in fencing, Cockran explained,

> we brought him to our purpose by threats of violence. Standing near the fire I laid hold of a piece of charcoal and raised it above his head, and spoke with a harsh tone, "We shall burn down the man's house, and drive him from among us, who is too selfish to cooperate with us for the general benefit."[48]

At times Cockran found the work of instructing the Indians in agriculture frustrating. "[You] may be indefatigable in the discharge of your duty before them, but they will not imitate; you may harangue them morning, noon and night, but as soon as they are beyond the sound of your voice they slide imperceptibly into their old way."[49] An anecdote recorded by Cockran illustrates the point.[50] When the carpenter hired to do work at the Indian Settlement arrived there one morning he found blackbirds eating a corn crop which belonged to one of the residents. The proprietor was fast asleep. When aroused and told about the birds, the Indian went back to sleep. However, when told that Cockran was coming, "He leaped out of bed, rubbing his eyes, to take a peep & in an instant was after the birds." As Cockran told it, "The Indian liked to indulge the old habit but was unwilling that I should know it."[51] Fear seems to

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[47]Ibid., Cockran, Journal, November 26, 1837.

[48]Ibid., March 11, 1835

[49]Ibid., September 5 and 16, 1835.

[50]Ibid., September 16, 1835.

[51]Ibid.

have been the principal motivator in this instance. But patience and compassion also moved Cockran to use positive reinforcement to support desired behaviour. "When you go to work you need to resolve that you will take them as they are, wink at their inconsistencies, and applaud what is good."[52] Leadership of this nature was crucial to the evolution of a working mission relationship in the Indian Settlement.

The successful establishment and operation of the Mission at the Indian Settlement can be explained with reference to the material advantages offered and by the sincere sense of identification which developed between the community and their "praying master." The positive aspects which supported the mission relationship during the 1830's were eroded somewhat after 1838. For some, the Anglican Mission no longer seemed so attractive. A change in pastor as well as the stormy events of the next decade would eventually lead to the expression of dissatisfaction by an extremely vocal element in the Indian Settlement.

Though the missionaries were able to inculcate a variety of Evangelical values among the varied communities resident in the Mission, response to the offer of membership in the Mission and imitation of the example of the missionaries was limited by the cultural conditioning and inhibitions of the Kildonan Scots, the Country-born and the Indians. In the case of each participant, a distinct set of factors combined to motivate a particular response to the offer of membership. But the nature and extent of the commitment to the relationship was largely a function of the Mission's recognized capacity to serve a variety of individual and community needs. Neither Jones nor Cockran wished to

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[52] Ibid., August 28, 1837.

see the accomplishments of the Mission during the 1820's and 1830's weakened in any way. Yet, without realizing it, both missionaries had inadvertently played a part in creating problems which threatened the Mission's welfare by the late 1830's.

CHAPTER II

THE FAILURE OF SUCCESS: WEAKNESSES, PERCEIVED THREATS AND MUCH UNCERTAINTY

By the late 1830's a different sentiment had replaced the optimisim with which Jones and Cockran had previously approached their missionary tasks. Enthusiasm had given way to despair. Troubled by personal losses and depression, the two missionaries had also become painfully aware that the future of the Mission was, for a variety of reasons, uncertain. The type of relationship that they had developed with their parishioners through years of experimentation and adaptation was very successful in attracting and holding new members; but it was subject to significant limitations. Because it required a tremendous investment of energy and time on the part of the two missionaries, further expansion of the Mission, without additional manpower, was impossible. A unique set of circumstances had also produced a system of co-sponsorship at the time of the Mission's inception. The Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company both supported the work of the Anglican Mission financially. Therefore, each agency expected to exercise a major influence in the Mission's operations. When the local officers of the Company found the goals of the resident missionaries of Red River to be distinct from their own, relations between the two parties cooled. In addition, the possibility that other Christian denominations might be encouraged by the Company raised the concern that the Anglicans would lose the preferred position that they assumed they should

enjoy in Rupert's Land. From the perspective of the two Anglican missionaries the situation had become serious enough for them to begin to fear for the future of the Mission.

1. OVEREXTENDED MISSION--THE MANPOWER PINCH

As early as 1833 officials of the Church Missionary Society in London viewed the ambitious undertakings of Jones and Cockran in the Red River Settlement with mild alarm.[1] No doubt drawing from the experience of mission stations elsewhere and with an eye to the total financial picture of the Society, they were moved to pen the following warning: "We should earnestly recommend you abstain from attempting too much at once."[2] A portent of future difficulties? Jones and Cockran, both caught up in the exhilaration of mission expansion, were reluctant to allow their missionary faith or zeal to be encumbered by caution. While the compassionate approach and devoted supervisory interest which they extended to every facet of the daily life of their congregations was a tremendous drain on their slim manpower resources, they were not prepared to alter their ways. Their parishioners had come to expect a great deal from them and they had been only too willing to oblige. But by the mid-thirties, they had pushed themselves to the point where their ability to minister to the Mission in this manner was nearing the limits of their physical and emotional endurance.[3] The maintenance of the

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[1] Church Missionary Society documents for Rupert's Land, Outgoing Correspondence (hereafter O.C.), Coates to Jones and Cockran, February 25, 1833.

[2] Ibid.

[3] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretary, December 16, 1833; Cockran, Journal, July 26, 1835; Cockran to the Secretary, August 4, 1836; Jones, Journal, June 14, 15, 1837.

relationship depended upon the continued good health of both men and their wives. Extension of the work required the addition of a new missionary. Yet none came until more than a year after Jones' departure in 1838. The death of Mary Jones, in 1836, revealed sharply a basic weakness in the Mission's structure. It marked the beginning of manpower difficulties which would bedevil the Mission thereafter.

Life in the Upper portion of the Mission was exceedingly hectic even before the death of Mary Jones. The Jones household regularly rose at four A.M. to begin the day's round of activities. The day's work rarely ended before nine P.M., when the household retired for the night.[4] Recalling the contribution that his wife had made to the work of the Mission, Jones said she "went on easily and silently with the concerns of an establishment of fifty individuals without their in the least interfering with my Chaplain and Missionary duties."[5] In addition to caring for her five small children and supervising numerous boarders and servants, she also served as matron for the girls attending the Red River Academy.[6] Her work in the parsonage allowed her husband to dispense with "secular and domestic cares,"[7] freeing him to spend his time preaching, teaching and visiting when asked to do so. Mary's versatility though, went far beyond duties directly related to the Mission.

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[4]Ibid., Jones to Jowett, July 23, 1833.

[5]Ibid., October 20, 1836.

[6]Ibid., Report of the State of Religion, Morality and Education at the Red River Settlement and Grand Rapids, by Revd. Messrs. Jones and Cockran, n.d. (rec'd October 28, 1835). Twenty-five girls were attending the Academy at that time.

[7]Tucker, Rainbow of the North, p. 67.

She also played a key role in bringing about goodwill between the Company and the missionaries,[8] as she adapted well to social obligations arising from the aspiring social assertiveness of the Upper Settlement. Indicative of how effective and useful she was in this respect is a comment made by Governor George Simpson.[9] He claimed that Mary Jones was very friendly with his young wife Frances, who felt much out of her element in Red River, her only friend in Red River being Mary Jones.

By 1830 the Upper Settlement had taken on a prosperous look. With the rising social expectations of the inhabitants, amenities increased in number and variety. In terms of education, Company officers and the principal settlers were in a position to demand more than the rudiments for their children. Officers at interior posts had been in the habit of boarding their children in private homes in Red River in order for them to attend the parish day schools. A female residential school for daughters of fee-paying parents opened in 1827 under Mrs. Cockran's care. When she resigned from those duties in 1831 Mrs. Jones replaced her. In 1832 Jones proposed to Governor Simpson "a respectable Seminary on a large scale in this Settlement for the Moral improvement, religious instruction and general education of Boys; the sons of Gentlemen belonging to the Fur Trade."[10] The proposal not only met with the approval of Company officials, but they also desired the establishment of a similar facility for girls. Buildings were

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[8]Arthur N. Thompson, "The Wife of the Missionary," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society XV (June 1973):40.

[9]H.B.C.A., B.135/C/2, fo. 65, Simpson to J. G. McTavish, April 10, 1831.

[10]Jones quoted in Thomas F. Bredin, "The Red River Academy," The Beaver (Winter 1974):11.

erected and by the fall of 1833 the Red River Academy opened its doors to its first students. Mr. John Macallum was appointed tutor and Mrs. Mary Lowman the first governess. The Academy was well attended, but not financially successful. For Jones, who had gone heavily into debt to finance the new buildings, it was a financial disaster.[11] Not until 1837, when he resigned the management of the Academy to John Macallum under terms agreed to by the Council of the Northern Department of the Hudson's Bay Company,[12] was he able to recoup some of his losses.

Once the supervision of construction of the new facilities had ended, Jones still remained heavily involved with administrative and teaching duties at the Academy. The tide of migration from the interior continued swelling the Mission's numbers. After 1834, Jones was responsible for two places of divine worship, Upper Church and Middle Church.[13] In 1835 the Upper Church recorded an average attendance of four hundred on Sunday morning. The congregation consisted of three hundred Europeans, four hundred and sixty half-castes and seventy Swampie Cree Indians. English services were held Sunday morning and Wednesday evening, and a special service for Indians was conducted in Cree on Sunday evening. Middle Church enjoyed an average attendance of two hundred and

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[11] For complete details, see Thompson, "Expansion," Chapter VI.

[12] E. H. Oliver, ed., The Canadian North-West: Its Early Development and Legislative Records II (Ottawa, 1914), pp. 721-722, 769.

[13] In the fall of 1834 Jones agreed to perform all of the duties at Middle Church. Before that, Jones and Cockran alternated there weekly.

fifty for Sabbath worship.[14] Services to prepare for, weddings and funerals to attend, administrative duties to perform, lessons in the Academy and at several parish schools to be taught,[15] and finally, calls to be made on an ever-increasing number of parishioners all contributed to an exceedingly heavy workload for Jones.

The death of Mary Jones on October 14, 1836, during the birth of their sixth child in as many years, came as a severe blow to the Mission. Cockran lamented her passing:

> The loss to us appears irreparable - I can scarcely persuade myself that it is real . . . I can say with certainty, that she has supported such an unblemished character as to die without a single enemy . . . her death is universally lamented, every person feels as if he or she had lost a dear friend.[16]

Losing her was most assuredly a personal loss to all who knew her, but also it was a harsh blow to the Mission's work. No longer would Jones be capable of carrying on the type of ministry in which he had been previously engaged. No longer would he have the extensive blocks of time that his wife's efforts had made available to him. Despondency arising from his wife's death and ill-health seriously affected his

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[14] C.M.S.A., I.C., Report of the State of Religion, Morality and Education at the Red River Settlement and Grand Rapids, by Revd. Messrs. Jones and Cockran, n.d. (rec'd October 28, 1835).

[15] By 1835 day schools were conducted in six locations: Upper Church, Middle Church, Image Plain, Grand Rapids, the Indian Settlement and the Indian farm. The Indian Residential School, which was moved to Grand Rapids in 1833, never lived up to expectations. Indian children were being encouraged to attend day schools. For additional information on the early development of schools in Red River, see W. B. Ready, "Early Red River Schools," The Beaver (December 1947):34-37 and C. J. Jaenen, "Foundations of Dual Education at Red River 1811-1834," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 3d. ser. (1965): 35-68.

[16] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretaries, October 25, 1836.

performance in the following months. Because of a "nervous disorder," he reported that he would "tremble like an aspen leaf before the least wind of excitement."[17] Before leaving for Wales, his homeland, in June of 1838, a despairing Jones recounted the difficulty and futility that marked his ministry in the Upper Settlement. Even with his duties circumscribed (Cockran was filling in for him at Middle Church), he could not find the energy to stand when preaching in the Upper Church.[18] In addition to his problems with physical ailments, he had six young children for whom he must care. There seemed to be no alternative but to return to Great Britain in the hope of being more useful.[19]

Jones' departure also meant that his useful conciliatory skills would be lost to the Mission. Cockran recognized this: "His absence is a great disappointment and serious loss to his flock; and I fear it will be difficult to meet with a person so well qualified to satisfy the diversity of taste that is to be met with in his congregation."[20] For fourteen months subsequent to Jones' departure Cockran carried on alone. In 1837, when Jones requested the aid of a third clergyman for the Mission, he gave some indication of how extensive the work had become. The population was a "little short of 2,000 scattered over 35 miles of country on either side of Red River."[21] Four congregations now required Cockran's attention. The task was monumental and Cockran

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[17]Ibid., Jones, Journal, June 14, 15, 1837.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid., Jones to Coates, June 27, 1838.

[20]Ibid., Cockran, Journal, June 9, 1839.

[21]Ibid., Jones to Jowett, July 29, 1837.

knew it. "Eight years ago I did the duties of the whole Settlement for 15 months, but I found it too much then." He observed that distances and the population had doubled.[22]

Cockran had good reason to consider the situation an ominous one. He had already pushed his work in the Lower Settlement to the outer limits of his physical capabilities. Through a combination of ingenuity and industry, extreme personal generosity, and an ability to economize, he had managed to expand greatly the area of his ministry without incurring any debt.[23] In 1837 he reported to the Society that he was ministering to the needs of 111 families in the vicinity of Grand Rapids (Lower Church) and to 47 families in the Indian Settlement.[24] Regularly scheduled activities included church services at Lower Church Sunday morning and at the Indian Settlement in the afternoon. Wednesdays took him to the Indian Settlement to catechize school children and adults. Cockran's remaining hours were occupied with administering the Indian boarding school, toiling on his own mission farm, supervising farming operations at the Indian Settlement, attending baptisms, weddings and funerals, and finally, making visits to the sick and dying.

Again, as with Jones, Cockran's wife, Ann, assisted him by helping to teach and by looking after domestic concerns. A letter from the Society received by Cockran points to the contribution she would be able

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[22]Ibid., Cockran to the Secretary, July 29, 1837. Cockran's reference to a time eight years before was to the year that Jones returned to his homeland on furlough to be married.

[23]Thompson, "Expansion," pp. 247-249.

[24]C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretaries, August 2, 1837.

to make. "She is a true Missionary's wife . . . as important in her sphere to the spiritual good of the Mission as you in yours."[25] Although she contributed much to her husband's work, Governor George Simpson, for one, was critical of her. He wrote, "Mrs. Cochrane [sic] whose assumed puritanism but ill conceals the vixen, shines only when talking of elbow grease & the scouring of pots & pans."[26] Writing to the Society to request additional manpower, Cockran had some thoughts of his own to share on the value of a missionary's wife to his work. "It would add much to the usefulness of the Missionary to be married, and his wife would require to be a pious, industrious, indefatigable woman; who would take an interest in reforming the females, and making them better wives."[27] The tolerably good health of his wife was a blessing, but as Cockran surveyed the prospect of having to take charge of the whole Mission, he was well aware of the weakness of his own bailiwick. He wrote, "reverence for God, His day, and worship, can only continue as long as I have zeal and diligence to set the example, and follow up the advantages."[28]

The nature of the relationship Cockran had developed with his flock was such that it required his continual and deliberate personal involvement and encouragement. Long before additional duties were assigned, he had given evidence in his correspondence that his health was deteriorating and that his zeal was waning. Therefore, "following

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[25] Ibid., O.C., Bickersteth and Coates to Cockran, March 6, 1826.

[26] H.B.C.A., B.135/c/2, fo. 65, Simpson to J. G. McTavish, April 10, 1831.

[27] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretaries, August 3, 1838.

[28] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretary, July 29, 1837.

up the advantages" had become onerous. Peaks of enthusiasm and depths of despair were emotional states between which Cockran oscillated periodically. As a result, his judgment and productivity suffered. One of the first indications that his body could not endure the heavy physical demands to which he subjected it was contained in a letter written to the Secretary of the Society in 1833:

> I am sorry to say that the many falls and bruises I have met with since I came to North America have considerably injured my body in several points, but the greatest inconvenience I have felt owing to the rupture in the groin of the right side, which gives me the most excrutiating pain after a long ride. You would exceedingly oblige by sending me a Truss.[29]

References to physical ailments, headaches, earaches and gastric disorders became more and more frequent in his diary during the following years. One Sunday several years later, while walking to the Indian Settlement to conduct services, the heat, flies and muddy trail moved him to write "this was the first time that ever I felt the toil of a Missionary life, to be too much for me."[30] The next summer he reported:

> I am sorry to say that those warm feelings which constitute the stamina of Missionary zeal, are now languishing, either from age, or bodily or mental disease. I have not been well for a long period. I have been troubled with coldness in my feet, violent headache, sore eyes, and chilly sensation at the heart.[31]

The fact that his eyes were failing him and that he was unable to read, troubled him most.

> This malady, and loss of mental enjoyment, has changed my whole feelings and character. Formerly I was cheerful, even to levity. . . . Every employment pleased, and I entered fully into the spirit of every occupation. Now when in company, which is but seldom, I am melancholy and absent, when alone my melancholy takes a deeper

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[29]Ibid., December 16, 1833.

[30]Ibid., Cockran, Journal, July 26, 1835.

[31]Ibid., Cockran to the Secretary, August 4, 1836.

> tinge; I view the surrounding country as a vast waste, which God has forsaken because of wickedness. . . . The golden dream has vanished; it has lost its charms.[32]

Cockran's despondency about his ability to continue prompted him to suggest that he be relieved of his duties.[33] His failure to achieve the ambitious goals of his younger years emphasized the self doubts that multiplied after Jones' departure. From the beginning, Cockran believed that his flock had to accept Evangelical Anglicanism as he had known it in England. He began to doubt his suitability as a missionary when the Mission failed to assume the character that he wished for it.

Cockran's increasing frustrations in the latter years of the 1830's were clearly reflected in his increasing animosity towards his colleague, Jones. Cockran had long been aware that his ministry was directed to a less socially desirable element of the Settlement's population than that of Jones. Perhaps feeling that he was deserving of greater recognition, Cockran pointed out that since the stated purpose of the Society was to evangelize native populations, the work of missionaries directly involved in that work was more valuable. His bias was clearly elucidated when he wrote: "It is obvious that a Missionary is more in the path of duty at the Rapids than at the Upper Establishment, as the former has only a thirteenth of the population whites, whereas the latter may have fully half."[34] He also bitterly criticized his colleague for having allowed himself to be seduced by the worldliness of the Upper Settlement. He wrote to the Society: "Our

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., Cockran to the Lay Secretary, August 6, 1836.

[34] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretaries, August 2, 1837.

brother Jones seems to be so captivated by the world, as to have lost all the sacred halo that ought to adorn the Missionary character."[35] He continued, "Religion is never touched upon by him, except in the pulpit." The reason given for why his senior had not paid Cockran a visit was that he spent his leisure time "giving dinners, and attending 'picnic' parties."[36] His bitterness showing through, Cockran relates how "When I come upon him, he is laid under by an unpleasant restraint. . . . Cast your eyes upon a Clergyman who is totally a man of fashion, and there you have a counterpart of our unfortunate brother."[37] Taking a holier-than-thou attitude, Cockran complained, "It is a great misfortune; he has many good qualities, and fine abilities, could he only devote them to God."[38]

The expected departure of Jones in 1838 boded ill for the continuation of work begun in the Mission. Jones and Cockran had expanded the Mission to the limits of their abilities and resources. The Mission, therefore, in their view, could not afford the loss of either man without a suitable replacement. The shortage of manpower would soon become critical. But before 1838, other problems had also begun to loom large in the minds of the mission staff.

2. THE COMPANY AS CO-SPONSOR

Events during the 1830's spurred the two Anglican missionaries

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[35] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretary, August 4, 1836.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

anxiously to reassess the nature of the Mission's relations with the Hudson's Bay Company. Simpson's objections to Cockran's settlement schemes at the Indian Settlement emphasized for them that dependence on the approval of the Company was not a satisfactory arrangement. Shortly after they also began to question their legal and financial dependence on the Company. It seemed to them that the Mission would be unable to plot its own directions without the threat of Company interference. Although the Company and the Society were to a degree interdependent[39] and relations were mostly cordial, the potential for conflicts of interest existed between two bodies whose primary goals were very different. One gathered pelts while the other sought to win souls.

The first incident which dramatically demonstrated to Jones and Cockran the potential for conflict was the matter of the Indian Settlement. In part through Cockran's efforts, growing numbers of Indians were attracted to Red River and the Indian Settlement.[40] In 1831, when Jones and Cockran had approached him, Governor George Simpson agreed to permit farming operations to begin at the Indian farm to help ameliorate the condition of the "starving" newcomers.[41] Also, Simpson hoped that by settling near Netley Creek, Indians who might have engaged in illicit fur traffic across the border at American posts,[42] would be drawn

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[39]Goosens, "Relationship of the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company," passim.

[40]C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretaries, n.d., probably August, 1832.

[41]Ibid., Cockran, Journal, October 10, 1831.

[42]See C. W. Rife, "Norman W. Kittson, A Fur Trader at Pembina," Minnesota History VI (September 1925):225-252 for an illuminating account of the pressures put on the Company's monopoly by American fur traders south of the border.

instead into the Mission's relatively harmless agricultural pursuits. When Simpson granted permission to Jones and Cockran to establish an Indian farm, his plans for it were not as ambitious as those held by Cockran. Cockran took Simpson's directive "to make use of any means whatever."[43] in the most liberal sense. He imagined that once the Indians had succeeded in learning to feed and clothe themselves, then they would "be able to look forward to a permanent Church, which would gradually increase; till this barbarous country is studded with Churches."[44]

Cockran had obviously grasped the importance of consolidating a stronghold in Red River in order to encourage future long-range expansion plans, for he wrote: "whoever keeps hold of the population of the settlement, holds a cord in his hand which reaches the remotest corner of the north."[45] He hoped that "Church after Church" would be added, "till the community became of such weight and importance, as to command the freedom of the whole country."[46] With a deliberate plan in mind, Cockran contemplated actively manipulating the Company in a way that would advance the Mission's reach beyond Red River. He explained to the Society:

> Were I now to say let us form at Swan River a settlement on the River Winnipeg or at Norway House for the sake of evangelizing the heathen, there would be no end to the objections and obstacles raised and thrown in the way of success. But if I labour to locate and evangelize the heathen where the benign influences of civilization and Christianity predominate over barbarism; and through the cord of relations already in my hand, pull so tight, as to draw many of their

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[43] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran, Journal, October 10, 1831.

[44] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretaries, July 25, 1833.

[45] Ibid., July 24, 1834.

[46] Ibid.

> hunters within the limits of the newly established settlement: - Then to prevent the desertion of the Indians from their respective hunting grounds, they will allow settlements to be formed, yea perhaps solicit them to be formed, and perhaps furnish the means of their formations.[47]

The future that Cockran envisioned, with some alterations, did occur. In a letter dated 1838, to John Rowand, Chief Factor of the Saskatchewan District, Simpson expressed his concern about preventing more migration to the Indian Settlement. He proposed a scheme to alleviate the problem. He requested Rowand to inform the Cumberland Indians that a clergyman would be sent to The Pas, provided they formed an agricultural settlement there.[48] But it would appear that Cockran's plan was only partially successful. His "scheming" was backfiring. For rather than resulting in an invitation for Anglican clergy to form missions in the North, Simpson would be provoked into inviting Wesleyans.[49]

As early as 1834 Governor George Simpson attempted to dissuade Cockran in his "settling activities" at the Indian Settlement.[50] Simpson's biographer points out that his policy towards missionary endeavours was clear. "Those who helped to promote the interests of the fur trade were assets; those who worked against these interests should be given no help."[51] If Simpson possessed no "evangelizing impulse,"[52]

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[47] Ibid.

[48] H.B.C.A., D.4/23, fos. 116-116d, Simpson to Rowand, February 28, 1838.

[49] Ibid., D.4/25, fos. 75d-76, Simpson to Donald Ross, March 1, 1840.

[50] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretary, October 23, 1834.

[51] John S. Galbraith, The Little Emperor (Toronto, 1976), p. 64.

[52] E. E. Rich, The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1879, II (London, 1958), p. 528.

he was nevertheless practical. His attempts to control the growth of the Indian Settlement were likely also the result of pragmatic considerations. He probably feared that if a great number of unskilled Indians were suddenly induced to give up the hunt for agriculture, an economic disaster would ensue.[53] According to Cockran, Simpson forbade him to continue, arguing that "the land on which I had commenced the Indian settlement was colony property," therefore, it was "under the direction of the executors of Lord Selkirk."[54] Simpson was reputed to have said that "as agent for the said executors, [he] would not tolerate the location of Indians upon it."[55] Cockran's reply was to insist that Simpson state in writing the precise parameters within which the Mission was to operate at the Indian Settlement.[56] In addition, Cockran indicated that he would inform the Church Missionary Society in London of Simpson's views. Simpson, apparently conscious of the Company's public image, put nothing in writing, preferring to let the matter drop.

After subsequent visits with the Governor, Cockran felt assured that he would be allowed to continue without interference. He reported that "He [Simpson] knows perfectly well that I have not recalled any of the workmen employed at the Indian Settlement."[57] He was still suspicious of Simpson's motives and actions, but Cockran thought that he had decided to use a different tactic. "I observed our conversation both

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[53]Ibid., p. 518.

[54]C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretary, Private, October 23, 1834.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid., Cockran, Journal, October 23, 1834.

[57]Ibid.

evenings turned upon the ingratitude of the natives," thinking that he would be able "to soften me down as a careless missionary, with an expectation that I will sicken of constant toil and disappointment."[58] A year later Cockran recalled the incident, suggesting that Simpson's "real objections must be grounded on the opinion, that locating the Indian will be injurious to the fur trade."[59] In any case, Simpson made no further overt objections to the Missionary's location of the Indian establishment on the Selkirk grant.

It would appear that Simpson had two reasons for not pursuing the issue further. The first reason was apparently a political debt owed to Cockran. In 1834, when an unfortunate incident provoked the two mixed blood communities to the point of an armed demonstration, Simpson required Cockran's influence to assist in quelling the disturbance. The Métis and Country-born "began to resist the Governor's authority" and to dispute the Company's exclusive trading privileges.[60] There was even talk of "scalping the Governor and electing a representative of their own."[61] Under these circumstances, "there was no time to dispute about a few miles of Territory on the banks of the Red River."[62]

Secondly, Simpson was aware that public opinion in Britain was unfavourable towards chartered companies with trading monopolies.[63]

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[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretaries, October 28, 1835.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] H.B.C.A., A.6/20, Governor and Committee to George Simpson, March 12, 1824.

The Company wished to have its trading license renewed shortly,[64] therefore, it could ill afford "a bad press." The interests of aboriginal peoples was a sensitive subject in Britain at the time.[65] For an official of the Company to appear to be thwarting the beneficent activities of a missionary in Red River would have been, at the very least, impolitic. The methods used to prevent the Indian mission station from becoming unmanageable would have to be more indirect.

After a meeting with Simpson in June, 1836, Cockran observed that "he still has an evil eye on the Indian Settlement."[66] When accounts of the Council of the Northern Department's annual meeting in Norway House arrived in the fall of 1837, Cockran had reason to feel that his continuing suspicions were well-grounded. The Council in authorizing Governor Christie to contract with carriers to transport goods to the Settlement and to hire tripmen, stipulated that Indians were not to "be employed under any circumstances or any consideration."[67] This regulation was obviously designed to be a means of discouraging the migration of Indians to the Settlement. Cockran, in reaction to the news, wrote: "the real motive is to harass and starve the Indians that are already located. . . . This is a masterly stroke of worldly policy

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[64]Their license was renewed in May of 1838 for 21 years.

[65]The Aborigines Protection Society was formed in 1835. The British government was at the same time apparently pressured into taking up the matter of the condition of aboriginal peoples. Thompson, "Expansion," p. 301.

[66]C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran, Journal, June 12, 1836.

[67]Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert's Land, June 27, 1837, quoted in Oliver, Canadian North-West, II, p. 763.

by which they expect to strangle the Protestant Mission in Rupert's Land."[68]

Uncertain of the motives of the Company, Jones and Cockran began to question the utility of shared financial commitments. The Church Missionary Society employed both men as missionaries and paid them an annual stipend. The Hudson's Bay Company hired them also, as chaplains to the Settlement. It also paid them a regular salary. The missionaries and the Mission, to a certain degree, were beholden to both bodies. Since it was in the best business interests of the Company to provide "every reasonable encouragement and facility to . . . the Church Missionary Society,"[69] the Company seemed to find this shared financial arrangement quite satisfactory, as long as it served their interest. The underlying assumption, of course, was that the missionaries would not engage in activities detrimental to the fur trade. No doubt, the Company's representatives also appreciated the fact that the shared financial arrangement provided them with the means of influencing Mission activities. When Jones sought to build a new Upper Church, he raised £110 from the Company, £200 from the Company officers, £50 from the estate of Lord Selkirk, and £50 from the Society.[70] The amount raised is significant when considered in light of the fact that proprietorship of the building was to be vested in the subscribers in

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[68] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran, Journal, October 9, 1837.

[69] H.B.C.A., A.6/20, Governor and Committee to George Simpson, March 12, 1824.

[70] C.M.S.A., I.C., Jones to Coates, October 8, 1831; the Society's subscription was small because they were experiencing financial difficulties. Ibid., O.C., Coates to Jones and Cockran, February 23, 1832. It is worth noting that the Kildonan Scots gained a vested interest in the building as well through their subscriptions.

proportion to their subscriptions. Thus, the Company could exercise much influence through the salaries paid to the missionaries and through its shared ownership of the Upper Church.

When Jones reported to the Society that he planned to set up the Red River Academy as a privately run venture, largely to benefit the Company and their employee's children, the Society expressed reservations about the wisdom of the move. Dual allegiances could be a problem. They wrote, "Such a union of distinct offices in the same individual is in itself obviously undesirable, and was only resorted to in your case in consequence of the peculiar circumstances of the Colony."[71] But in "an advanced stage of progress the permanency of such an arrangement would be highly inconvenient in various ways," and would make it "absolutely impracticable for the individual holding these combined offices to discharge their duties to either of the parties to whom they are responsible, with satisfaction or efficiency."[72] The problem was even more acute. Paramount control and authority was at stake. It would appear that the Company was no longer satisfied with the existing arrangement. In 1833, Simpson, acting upon orders that he had received from the Governor and Committee of the Company in London, approached both Jones and Cockran, offering to pay them their full stipends plus extra funds for administering the Academy, on condition that the Society would withdraw from the Red River Mission.[73] Cockran recognized the offer for what it probably was: the "Company wish to be the sole managers of the spiritual concerns of the Country." But, according to him,

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[71] Ibid., February 25, 1833.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid., I.C., Cockran to the Secretaries, August 5, 1833.

it would also mean that, "the march of Christianity wil] at once stop; they will take care that she shall not stretch her cords far into the wilderness."[74] Some years later, Jones recorded similar feelings in his journal. He complained that after the Society had invested a large sum in the Mission, "we are told not to stir to preach to an Indian."[75] Also, "our fields of labour are given to the Roman Catholics," and "our converts are insidiously thrown out of all opportunities of gaining the means of subsistence." In addition, "once more the Company's representative [Simpson] told me plainly last year that if I thought proper to resign, the Society should have nothing to say in the nomination of my successor!!!"[76] The dilemma encountered in attempting to serve God and Mammon was thrust upon the missionaries. Jones, in 1838, eloquently exclaimed: "We have been made deeply to feel the difficulty of being Chaplains and Missionaries but things were never brought home to us as they have been this year."[77]

Jones' reference to his conversation with Simpson reflects as well the growing concern that he and Cockran shared that the Anglican Mission might lose the preferential position that it had enjoyed with respect to other denominations. While their efforts had been confined to Red River the only other denomination, the Roman Catholics, had presented no problem. Mistrust existed, but areas of jurisdiction had been

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[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid., Jones, Journal, June 15, 1838.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

quietly understood by both Protestants and Catholics.[78] The impending introduction of another denomination, along with the impetus to expand beyond the Settlement, threatened to change customary practices.

Hearing of Jones' decision to return to Great Britain, Simpson suggested that a Presbyterian minister be appointed to Upper Church.[79] He justified his right to suggest such an action on the grounds that the Company was a major patron of the church. Jones, seeing it as an insult to the Society and to himself, feared that his Upper Church would become a "dissenting Chapel."[80] The only real solution that he could see to the dilemma was to secure legal title to the property. His colleague, Cockran, felt that to consolidate the gains already achieved by the Mission would require a large effort.[81] Without three men to staff the Mission, it would be impossible. At the same time he expressed alarm that the Company seemed to have "encouraged the Catholics and suppressed protestantism."[82] Despite his concerns about consolidating their hold in Red River, thoughts about expanding the Mission were never far from his mind. Two summers before, he had written: "The Protestants cannot effect more in Red River; they will have to proceed to the east or west, and form new establishments."[83]

In the minds of the Anglican clergy during the closing years of

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[78] Foster, "Anglican Clergy," p. 62.

[79] C.M.S.A., I.C., Jones to Jowett, January 5, 1839.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretaries, August 3, 1838.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid., August 8, 1836.

the 1830's, the Red River Mission faced an uncertain future. Recurrent economic problems added to the malaise. Prosperity was difficult to achieve in an insular settlement, perched in an indeterminate economic balance between nomadic and sedentary lifestyles and dependent upon an extremely vulnerable life-line to European supply. Events in 1836 typified the precarious economic circumstances of the Colony. August frosts ruined gardens and severely damaged crops. As well, the buffalo hunt on the plains was a failure. To complete the year's havoc, supply ships were unable to unload most of their cargo at York Factory, leaving Red River without much needed supplies for the coming year. The missionaries had, over the years, attempted to alleviate the economic distress of their flock, sometimes successfully. While 1836 was an exceptional year, the economic uncertainty that it graphically underlined remained an annoying feature of the Mission's circumstances.

By 1838 Jones and Cockran were deeply concerned about impending staff shortages. They were also aware of the possible consequences of their financial and legal dependence upon the Hudson's Bay Company. And they were worried about challenges from other Christian denominations. From their perspective, the fate of the Anglican Red River Mission was at stake. A concerted effort would have to be made to effectively rationalize the use of new staff, to expand beyond the Settlement, and to consolidate their hold in Red River, if the hard won achievements of the previous years were not to be undermined.

CHAPTER III

A QUEST FOR SECURITY BEGINS: 1838-1844

The problem of placing the Anglican Red River Mission on a more secure footing was of great concern to the missionaries in Red River during the period from 1838 to 1844. They expended large amounts of their time and energy in responding to what they perceived as manpower, competitive and obstructionist "threats." The preservation and defense of the Mission was thought to be at stake. They thought the security they desired was within their grasp but their efforts to achieve it were insufficient. By 1844 they had accomplished very little but perhaps learned much in their quest for greater security for the Mission.[1] Ultimately, the stability, freedom and guarantees they were seeking for the Mission, would have to await the establishment of a diocese in 1849.

The rationalization of the use of new staff members in the interests of the Mission in Red River rather than the head office in London was one of the problems facing the missionaries in responding to the difficulties that manpower limitations were posing for the Mission. As missionaries in the field they did not play an active role in recruiting or acquiring new staff. Decisions with respect to the suitability of candidates were made at the Society's headquarters in London. A

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[1] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretaries, n.d., rec'd October 16, 1844.

missionary in Red River might request assistance or offer his advice to the Secretaries of the Society concerning the desired characteristics of the appointee, but he was not involved in the final choice of the candidate.[2] The Society gave appointees instructions concerning their duties before they set out for Rupert's Land. Once they arrived, decisions made in Red River often determined how they were employed and where they were placed. In the absence of an officially appointed leader in the Mission, the new staff members who arrived after 1838 looked to Cockran for support and advice. He introduced the new arrivals to their work and communicated the principal concerns of the Mission to them. Unfortunately for the Mission, several of the men who arrived in Red River had deficiencies in personality and pastoral skills. In addition to the efforts required to initiate new staff members into the Mission routine, responses to the other problems were necessary.

In order to counter the influence of Roman Catholic and Wesleyan competitors, as much as to evangelize Indians, the missionaries began to expand operations beyond the confines of the Settlement. A real sense of urgency was apparent in their desire to secure for the Anglicans an influential place among the native populations outside Red River.[3] The missionaries informed the Society of the seriousness of the situation and of the remedies they intended to use. But Cockran and Smithurst made the key decisions affecting the timing, the plans to be used, and the best locations for mission extension. The pains taken by the

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[2] Ibid., Cockran to Rev. R. Davies, August 4, 1845.

[3] Ibid., Smithurst to the Rt. Hon. President, August 10, 1843.

missionaries to extend the Mission's influence to outlying mission stations was paralleled by a sometimes overly passionate effort to stabilize the Mission's hold in Red River.

Conscious of the need to assert their independence from the Hudson's Bay Company, the Anglican missionaries began to concern themselves with consolidating their property and jurisdictional interests in Red River. They outlined the difficulties they saw in this regard to the Society and urged them to send an Anglican clergyman with suitable qualifications to serve the Upper Church.[4] This was important to them because the Company made special claims to control that particular church. Fear of losing their influence and control in the Upper Church and elsewhere in the Settlement influenced many of the missionaries' actions during this period. For example, the question of apparent Company interference in the Mission's affairs was also the concern which provoked Smithurst to become embroiled in a bitter controversy with Recorder Adam Thom[5] over the legalities of ordination in Rupert's Land.

Frustrated by the need they felt to constantly be on their guard against secular interference in their affairs, the missionaries would welcome the episcopal visit of the Bishop of Montreal in 1844. They thought that his visit would be instrumental in identifying the Mission as a genuine and essential extension of the Church of England.[6] The

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[4]Ibid., Cockran to the Secretary, June 17, 1840.

[5]Thom's career in Red River is briefly covered in Chapter I of Roy St. George Stubbs, Four Recorders of Rupert's Land (Winnipeg, 1967).

[6]C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretaries, n.d., rec'd October 16, 1844.

visit also served to underline the fact that the missionaries' personal efforts to strengthen the Mission had fallen short of their goal. Only a bishop for Rupert's Land would be able to ensure the security and stability that they desired for the Mission.[7] The missionaries' quest for greater security did not in the end satisfactorily solve the problems they had perceived. Their efforts to strengthen the Mission, however, provide an explanation for much of the activity that the missionaries were engaged in between 1838 and 1844.

1. NEW MEN ARRIVE

In 1838 the future of the Mission had looked unusually bleak to Cockran. For over a year following Jones' departure Cockran managed to carry on alone in the Red River Mission. Cockran at first did not know whether Jones would be reassigned to Red River. Apparently early in 1839, Jones still entertained the prospect of returning;[8] but by October of the same year, he had decided to accept a Professorship at St. David's College and the Curacy of Lampeter in Wales.[9] Cockran had cherished the hope that a third clergyman would be added to the staff of the Mission so that "the cause of God in the Indian Settlement" would have justice done to it.[10] Had Jones returned, he and Cockran would have divided the duties of the Upper and Lower Mission as before. The new worker would have resided at the Indian Settlement in order to

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., Jones to the Secretary, January 5, 1839.

[9] Boon, Anglican Church, p. 34.

[10] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran, Journal, January 31, 1838.

be "able to go from house to house."[11] Jones' furlough offered an opportunity to obtain another worker. Cockran advised Peguis' Indians to request a resident missionary, which they did.[12] Jones took the letter with him on his voyage home in 1838, and delivered it to the Society.

The same year, Governor George Simpson, The Hudson's Bay Company's representative in Rupert's Land, was proposing schemes which were designed to check the flow of Indian migrants to Red River.[13] According to Jones, the "Indian location has become quite an eyesore to the Council of Factors and Traders in Rupert's Land."[14] Simpson hoped to establish a Society mission in the Cumberland district which would discourage more Indians from migrating to Red River, and which might result, in time, in the relocation of the Indian Settlement at Red River to the Cumberland district. It was soon apparent that Simpson had communicated his wishes to the London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company for his scheme was laid before the directors of the Society. The Society agreed to the Cumberland House mission proposal in place of expanding the Indian Settlement, and "set apart one of the ordained students of the institution [Islington]" for the new mission

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 5, 1840.

[13] H.B.C.A., D.4/23, fos. 116-116d, Simpson to Rowand, February 28, 1838.

[14] C.M.S.A., I.C., Jones to the Secretary, January 5, 1839.

station.[15] The man chosen was Rev. John Smithurst,[16] a bachelor, who was instructed by the Society to spend a short time in Red River and then proceed to Cumberland.[17] He departed for Red River with the intention of following that course of action.

When Smithurst arrived in Red River in late September, 1839, he found that Cockran had something different in mind. Cockran, hearing of the Cumberland proposal and acceptance, protested strongly to the Society.[18] Besides being naturally suspicious of the Company's motives in this circumstance, he outlined additional objections. Firstly, should Smithurst be situated in Red River for only one year, Cockran would be left alone afterwards, with the responsibility for the Red River Mission resting on his shoulders. The duties probably would prove to be too onerous for Cockran and, according to Smithurst, Simpson knew this.[19] Cockran expressed his own frustrations. "You must remember that I am not a Christian adventurer. . . . If I inform you that my duties have increased beyond my strength, it is clearly your duty to furnish the assistance."[20] Secondly, if Smithurst were placed

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[15] Church Missionary Society Proceedings 1838-1839, p. 126, quoted in Boon, Anglican Church, p. 46. Islington was the Society's training school.

[16] See Dictionary of Canadian Biography, IX, s.v. "Smithurst, John," by A. N. Thompson for biographical details.

[17] C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 5, 1840. He was also appointed chaplain by the Company at a stipend of £150 per annum. H.B.C.A., A.5/12, fo. 281, London Committee Secretary to Smithurst, May 23, 1839.

[18] C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 5, 1840.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretary, August 7, 1839.

at the Indian Settlement permanently, he would be able to "pursue the advantages already obtained," as he would be present to comment "on the broken fence, the weedy crop, the pining calf, the ragged garment, the dirty face, and the indolent being who is basking in the midst of so much wretchedness without giving offence."[21] Thirdly, he argued that the Company need not worry about increases in the population of the Indian Settlement resulting in impoverishment or threatening to cause social disruption, as the Mission had been granted permission to locate and evangelize Indians elsewhere.[22] Finally, he pointed out that Smithurst's appointment was part of God's plan to answer the Indian's petition for a "praying master." It was "clearly the will of God that Mr. Smithurst should be the future guardian of the spiritual interests of those located at the Indian Settlement."[23]

The task of communicating to Smithurst the problems facing the Mission naturally fell to Cockran, as senior missionary. During his first few days in the Settlement, Cockran introduced Smithurst to the Governor of the Colony, Mr. Duncan Finlayson. Smithurst indicated that he did not wish to serve the upper establishment, even though he was then receiving a Company chaplain's salary, arguing that his speaking voice was too weak to be effective in the Upper Church and that he was pledged to perform pure Indian ministry. It was agreed that Cockran would perform the Sunday duties of the Upper and Middle Churches, and the weekday requirements of the Upper, Middle and Lower parishes.

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[21] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretaries, August 2, 1839.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

Smithurst would perform Sunday duty at the Lower Church and the Indian Settlement, and weekdays he would devote exclusively to the Indian Settlement.[24] Shortly after his arrival Smithurst accepted Cockran's views: "I see plainly that if this Station was abandoned for the purpose of transferring it to that place [Cumberland] there is not one family would ever leave here to go there."[25]

Smithurst's decision to remain in Red River subverted the Company's plan to establish a Society mission at Cumberland. Smithurst's refusal to go there, however, did not imply that the two missionaries intended to forget about a Cumberland House station, since they continued to urge the Society to make good their promise to post a missionary in the Cumberland district.[26] This action signified that the strength of the Anglican Red River Mission was considered vital to the success of any future outlying mission establishment, as a source of supplies and provisions and as an administrative center. At that time Smithurst's services were needed most to help strengthen the home base. Smithurst's action also served to indicate that the Anglican missionaries did not see themselves as auxiliaries to the Company's interests. The Company's representatives might object but Cockran and Smithurst were undeterred.

Relations were cordial between Cockran and Smithurst during the first years of their work together in Red River. Smithurst was somewhat taken aback at first by what appeared to him to

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[24] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretary, November 12, 1839.

[25] Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretaries, November 15, 1839.

[26] Ibid.

be the corruption of Anglican forms to suit Presbyterian biases.[27] He was nevertheless impressed by the abilities of his senior colleague and with the sincere devotion of the Lower Church parishioners to the person of Cockran. Writing to the Society, he observed that "Mr. Cockran possesses in a remarkable degree, both the confidence and affection of his people."[28] Several days after his arrival, Cockran introduced Smithurst to the Indian congregation as "their future pastor."[29] Smithurst observed that "Mr. C. no doubt felt as a father would do in resigning his children into other hands."[30] Unfortunately, Smithurst proved incapable of developing the same kind of rapport with the congregation.

Approximately ten years his senior and far more experienced, Cockran did not appear to be threatened by the presence of the younger man. His criticisms of his colleague, unlike those formerly directed towards Rev. Jones, were motivated by a sincere pastoral concern and not by what could be interpreted as a sense of inferiority. For instance, he was troubled by Smithurst's inability to project his voice, which meant that he could "only be said to preach to about 100 persons next to the Pulpit."[31] This, according to Cockran, was the cause of irregular attendance at Lower Church when Smithurst preached there. His remarks,

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[27] See Dictionary of Canadian Biography, IX, s.v. "Smithurst, John," by A. N. Thompson.

[28] C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst to the Secretaries, July 30, 1844.

[29] Ibid., November 15, 1839.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretary, August 4, 1841.

however, were not malicious or vindictive. Smithurst sought Cockran's counsel frequently, even though the younger man's pride and lack of charity sometimes prevented him from accepting the advice that was proffered. Yet he wrote, "I find Mr. Cockran a friend and a brother, from whom I can at all times obtain advice with pleasure. . . . We can . . . ill spare a man of his great experience and sound judgment."[32]

No longer as depressed about his unrealized hopes for the Mission as he was formerly, Cockran displayed a developing sense of maturity. He began to blame himself less for a lack of "spiritual quickening" on the part of his flock, shifting responsibility to them instead. "The whole counsel of God, as far as I know it, shall be declared to the best of my ability. It will then remain with sinners whether they receive the truth."[33] Although still troubled by physical ailments, he was responding enthusiastically to his role as senior missionary. The realization of the value of his work seemed to renew Cockran's vigour. Years of experience made him an extremely useful link with the past. Cockran's advice for young missionaries indicates that his judgments were well tempered by experience:

> A young missionary is liable to attach far too much importance to himself and his services when he first enters the Missionary field; . . . he expects a degree of attention and esteem from the heathen, which they are no means prepared to pay. The heathen value every man according to the amount of good which they suppose he has accomplished for them, and they have their own standard, by which they estimate the good, and too often it is quite a different one, from which the Missionary has been accustomed to value things. . . . He has therefore first of all to convince the heathen that he is the friend of their bodies, which they particularly value; and then they will in due time listen to him concerning their souls.[34]

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[32]Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 2, 1841.

[33]Ibid., Cockran to the Secretaries, July 30, 1845.

[34]Ibid., n.d., rec'd October 16, 1844.

On another occasion he stated that a missionary "must always be a person of strong sympathy and compassion."[35] Cockran was seldom lacking in compassion, and it also appears that he knew well the value of gratifying the legitimate needs of prospective parishioners in order to win their approval for the Mission. One can be confident that he communicated that message to the other clergy.

Unlike William and Ann Cockran, for whom the move to Red River had been irreversible because of their ascent in social status,[36] John Smithurst, without the support of a family around him, did not appear to find a real home in Red River. Rather than experiencing a rise in social standing, the move to Rupert's Land was probably perceived as a drop in status. Uncomfortable in his new environs, he felt that "the great drawback upon enjoyment is the want of society and a more frequent communication with England."[37] He took great pains to keep abreast of events in his native land, regularly subscribing to The Church Missionary Record and the Derby Mercury newspaper.[38] On one occasion, when his order for personal items was delayed, Smithurst berated the Lay Secretary of the Society for not having filled his order properly and at the same time indicated how important these items from home were to him. "I can assure you, to one shut up in the solitudes of America, but still possessing all that love for His native Country

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[35]Ibid., August 9, 1842.

[36]Thompson, "The Wife of the Missionary," p. 35.

[37]P.A.C., M.G. 19 E6 Vol. II, Smithurst, Sundry Letters, 1839-40, Smithurst to unidentified recipient, n.d.

[38]See indents and accompanying letters for the period from 1839 to 1844, scattered amongst copied letters and journals.

which I do, the disappointment was not a trifling one."[39]

Conscientious and hardworking, he expanded the agricultural operations in the Indian Settlement. In the spiritual realm his most significant contribution was the introduction of weeknight congregational meetings. The congregation would assemble in the schoolroom at dusk for Bible translation, singing and praying. During the meetings Smithurst made a point of stressing the Anglican liturgical forms to which he was far more wedded than his colleague, Cockran.[40] He was also the first Anglican missionary to take an active interest in the work of translation.[41] When the Saulteaux language, his first choice, proved to be too difficult, he began taking instructions in Cree from his assistant, Mr. Cook.[42] Admitting the usual translation problems, he was able by 1842 to record in his diary:

> I have engaged most of the day in the study of the Indian language. I am on the point of completing a translation of the Evening Service, and in a few weeks hope to be able to read it. This will be a great benefit to the old people who do not understand the English language.[43]

He did not use the syllabic system that the Wesleyan, James Evans, created, but developed his own using the Roman alphabet. Recognizing the need for his charges to learn English, he also began work on a

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[39] C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst to the Secretary, November 2, 1840.

[40] Smithurst noted that "Many Indians read the Bible fluently, and know the Church Catechism broken into short questions, can say the Collects for the whole year, together with a good part of the Thirty-Nine Articles." Ibid., Smithurst, Journal, March 6, 1842.

[41] See T. C. B. Boon, "Use of Catechisms and Syllabics by the Early Missionaries of Rupert's Land 1820-1880," offprint 21, The Canadian Church Historical Society (October 1960)

[42] C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 8, 1843.

[43] Ibid., Smithurst, Journal, March 10, 1842.

Cree-English dictionary which he never completed.[44] In addition to his linguistic endeavours, Smithurst was also a horticulturist of some reputation. Commenting on this activity, he said, "think of Indians with flower gardens. Who would have expected that 20 years ago?"[45]

During his first five years in the Indian Settlement the population of Smithurst's congregation doubled, as Indian families continued to drift in from the Upper Settlement.[46] Rarely did he give any evidence in his correspondence that he was experiencing difficulties with his congregation. Either he feared the semblance of failure, or Cockran's plan was so successful that the establishment appeared to be continually improving. The truth is probably a combination of the two. Little occurred in the station to disturb the daily routine or to upset the membership. Smithurst observed soon after his arrival that "everything in the mission goes on with such mechanical regularity."[47] John Maclean agreed that a marked substantive improvement had taken place in the Indian Settlement since its inception when he wrote, that it was "in as forward a state of improvement as any of the neighbouring settlements."[48] The material advantages of civilization began to trouble Smithurst, however; he feared that the Indians were "sliding into

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[44]Rev. Mason, the Wesleyan printer at Rossville station, printed Part I of his English-Cree-Saulteaux vocabulary. Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 1, 1848 and January 16, 1849.

[45]Ibid., Smithurst, Report of the Indian Settlement for the Year Ending August 1, 1845.

[46]Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretaries, July 30, 1844.

[47]Ibid., August 5, 1840.

[48]W. S. Wallace, ed., Notes of a Twenty-Five Year's Service in the Hudson's Bay Territories (Toronto, 1932), p. 379.

worldliness" because they owned "horses and carrioles," and were "not satisfied without European clothing."[49]

A condescending attitude towards the "lower orders" characterized John Smithurst's relationship with his Indian congregation. He wrote that the "barbarous Indian is not susceptible to those delicate feelings which characterize men in a high state of civilization and intellectual refinement."[50] When they were engaged in rebuilding the school he proudly stated that "I am constantly with them to suggest, and they execute with ease and promptitude whatever I direct."[51] Speaking of his ability to direct his Indian parishioner's efforts, he observed that he found it "far less difficult to manage my blacks than . . . if I had so many Europeans."[52] Smithurst was without question a very capable man. Yet he seemed to find it difficult to communicate to his congregation the empathy and affection that marked Cockran's relations with his parishioners at the Lower Church.

A major concern for Cockran was the filling of pulpits with clergymen who were suitably qualified. The ability to preach extemporaneously had become a requisite for clergy appointments throughout the Mission. Since both Jones and Cockran possessed that skill, individual congregations, particularly those in the Upper Settlement, expected that missionary replacements would be similarly gifted.

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[49]C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst, Report of the Indian Settlement for the Year Ending August 1, 1845.

[50]Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 5, 1840.

[51]Ibid., Smithurst, Journal, May 16, 1842.

[52]P.A.C., M.G. 19 E6 Vol. II, Smithurst, Sundry Letters, 1839-40, Smithurst to unidentified recepient, n.d.

Alexander Ross, the Red River author, in referring to Rev. Jones, who had served at the Upper and Middle Churches, commented: "a more powerful or eloquent Preacher, I never heard in the whole course of my life."[53] A visitor in the Settlement, Mr. Lefroy, Director of the Toronto Observatory, left little doubt that in terms of his sermons' content, Cockran was not the equal of Jones: "Mr. Cochrane [sic], a man much respected, zealous out of the pulpit, in fact a good man, unhappily however the quintessence of dulness and badness as a preacher; never did I hear his equal."[54] Nevertheless, Cockran understood the necessity for a vigourous style of preaching in Red River. Among the Indians, he claimed that "the heathen will never allow, that we understand the New Religion, so well as their teachers understand the old one" because their religious leaders "carry their book in their bellies."[55] At the same time he pointed out that if the upper congregations, where many of the members were well educated, did not get satisfactory preachers they would eventually desert the Anglican Church.[56]

Both Smithurst, who preached at Lower Church part of the time, and Abraham Cowley,[57] who assisted Cockran in the upper congregations,

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[53]Alexander Ross to James Hargrave, March 13, 1835, in G.P. de T. Glazebrook, ed., The Hargrave Correspondence, 1821-43 (Toronto, 1938), p. 188.

[54]John Henry Lefroy to Rev. Anthony Lefroy, York Factory, July 24, 1843 in George F. Stanley, ed., In Search of the Magnetic North: A Soldier-Surveyor's Letters from the North-West, 1843-1844 (Toronto, 1955), p. 41.

[55]C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretary, August 4, 1841.

[56]Ibid.

[57]Boon, Anglican Church, pp. 51-53 provides the best biographical

read their sermons. Because the practice was unknown to these congregations, and in Cowley's case, because he was exceptionally difficult to understand, these men were found wanting by the parishioners.[58] John Roberts,[59] though his views were often jaundiced, capsulated the problem best. "Cowley & Smithurst are very valuable men for pure Indian Stations but they will never be able to keep together the Congregations of the Upper Churches."[60]

Mr. Roberts, the untrained catechist who had arrived with Rev. Cowley and his wife in 1841, spent only one year in the Settlement. He became so impatient about his ordination that he returned to England the following summer.[61] During his brief stay in the Mission he managed to alienate all of the clergy and amuse most of the parishioners. Smithurst wrote to the Society to request that he be relieved of the man's assistance because he had been stirring up trouble with the Indian Schoolmasters.[62] That is not surprising given Robert's attitude. He thought his position was "more like that of Mr. Kipling previous to his ordination, than to that of your common Catechists whose only employments are visiting the people, and superintending schools."[63]

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detail on Cowley.

[58] C.M.S.A., I.C., Roberts to the Secretaries, August 9, 1842.

[59] Mr. John Roberts, a Welsh lay catechist, had some missionary experience in Newfoundland before coming to Red River, but he had received no formal training at Islington, the Society's training school.

[60] C.M.S.A., I.C., Roberts to the Secretaries, August 9, 1842.

[61] Ibid., Roberts to the Committee of the C.M.S., August 17, 1842.

[62] Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretaries, January 4, 1842.

[63] Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 8, 1843.

Rev. Smithurst also spoke of Robert's "rancourous persecution of Mr. & Mrs. Cowley."[64] Adam Thom, the one person who befriended Roberts, probably not without ulterior motives, reported that, "During the winter he [Roberts] was Mr. Smithurst's lodger, very little, I understand, to the satisfaction of either party."[65] Cockran thought him to be "imperfect and imprudent," a poor candidate for Indian ministry, and was particularly upset that he should be so bold as to ask for an unjustified raise in salary.[66] Though he was assigned preaching duties, Roberts did nothing to help solve problems in that area. His listeners "used to roar & laugh in church while he was preaching," apparently because "his appearance language & manner," were "all equally ludicrous."[67]

From 1840 until the arrival of Rev. Robert James[68] in 1846 made it possible, Cockran repeatedly requested the Society to relieve him of his duties. His ill-health, occasional moments of self doubt and familial concerns[69] were all contributing factors. He decided against

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[64]Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 8, 1843.

[65]H.B.C.A., D.5/7, fos. 186-187, Adam Thom to George Simpson, August 8, 1842.

[66]C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretaries, August 9, 1842; Cockran to the Secretaries, August 8, 1843.

[67]Letitia Hargrave to Mary Mactavish, York Factory, September 12, 1843 in M. A. MacLeod, ed., The Letters of Letitia Hargrave (Toronto, 1947), p. 166.

[68]James served the Lower Church from 1846 to 1851.

[69]H.B.C.A., D.5/12, fos. 1-2, Cockran to Simpson, July 1, 1844. Cockran had four children; two sons and two daughters. His eldest son, Thomas, returned to Great Britain for his education, where "he fell into bad hands," and "was convicted of stealing." Letitia Hargrave to Mrs. Dugald Mactavish, York Factory, April 10, 1843 in MacLeod, Letters of Letitia Hargrave, p. 145. Though Thomas got into more trouble after

returning to England, citing the examples of John West and David Jones,[70] neither of whom returned to Rupert's Land. Canada was Cockran's choice. Staffing difficulties and the leadership he felt that he was required to provide, however, obviated his decision to retire sooner. Armed with his supply of Parr's Life Pills,[71] Cockran ministered throughout this period to the three upper congregations of the Mission, although his greatest affection was for the Rapids congregation where he resided. He seemed content with his circumstances: "Here I have abundance of work, amongst people whom I know personally; and for whom I have always felt a paternal interest . . . people with whom I have so long identified myself, and whose well-being was so interwoven with my own."[72] Obviously, the relationship formed with these people, who were mostly Country-born, was one which he valued highly. The introduction of new staff to the work and worries of the Mission was not the only matter that concerned Cockran. He and his fellow workers had other concerns.

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his education at the University of Durham, he returned to Rupert's Land to become ordained, assisting his father during the final years of his ministry. Cockran's younger son, John, was a sickly child. Cockran wrote, "I often see him subjected to hard measures by the half-breed boys," therefore, I must "establish him . . . where he will have no Indian prejudice to operate against him." Besides, Rupert's Land did "not hold out any of those advantages, which a thoughtful parent would like to place within the reach of his children." C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretaries, August 4, 1840; July 30, 1845. Cockran's daughters both married Anglican clergymen, becoming the wives of Rev. Henry George and Rev. Robert Hillyer.

[70] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretary, June 17, 1840.

[71] See indents and accompanying letters for the 1830's. This item frequently appeared on indents along with hearty praise for its healing qualities.

[72] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretary, June 17, 1840.

2. "LENGTHENING THE CORDS"

From 1839 to 1844 the Anglican Red River Mission attempted to "lengthen the cords"[73] with a short burst of mission expansion. Anticipating competition for the souls of the native peoples, plans for the formation of the new mission stations were of some urgency. Fear of competition from the Roman Catholics, who they had heard on good authority were planning to situate a priest at Cumberland House,[74] was the key factor motivating Cockran and Smithurst to begin making preparations for the first new station beyond Red River. Cumberland and the other newly-formed mission stations were supervised from Red River. All were modelled after the plans and experiences of Cockran at the Indian Settlement in Red River.[75] By 1844 three new mission stations had been founded. Two of them, The Pas and Fairford, would become permanent establishments.

Cockran and Smithurst entertained the hope, in 1839, that the estate of a deceased Chief Factor, James Leith,[76] would lend financial support to the beleaguered and understaffed Red River Mission and permit the extension of missionary work into Cumberland. Cockran wrote: "I hope next year we shall have two assistants from you; one for the Upper Station, and one for Cumberland House."[77] Two men were appointed,

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[73] Tucker, Rainbow of the North, p. 131.

[74] C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 5, 1840.

[75] Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Zions for the Western Indian," p. 58.

[76] See this thesis, Chapter IV, p. 107.

[77] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretary, November 12, 1839.

but they were not sent out in the summer of 1840 for reasons that were communicated to the Society by the Company:

> The Governor and Committee direct me in reply to acquaint you that in consequence of the Estate of the late James Leith having been thrown into Chancery, the funds interceded for the Cumberland House Mission are not at present available; and it will not at this season be convenient to afford Messrs. Bauman and Wendnagel a passage to York Factory.[78]

Unaware of this development until the arrival of the annual supply ship, Cockran and Smithurst continued their plans.

Before being informed that the two new missionaries would not be coming to Rupert's Land, Cockran and Smithurst had made arrangements for the Cumberland station. During the early months of 1840 boats and crews were hired, and flour and barley set aside. In addition, Henry Budd, a native schoolmaster with a facility in the Cree language, was selected to join the Cumberland Mission.[79] When they learned that no new missionaries were coming to Rupert's Land, Budd was directed to proceed to Cumberland. Once there, he was to "collect some children for instruction" and also "speak to the Indians on the subject of our Mission."[80]

The efforts of the Anglican missionaries in Cumberland soon

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[78]William Smith to D. Coates, quoted in Ibid., June 17, 1840.

[79]Ibid., June 17, 1840. The selection of Budd for this post was in keeping with directives from the Society which encouraged the deployment of native catechists and ministers. The creation of self-supporting native churches became a Society policy while Rev. Henry Venn was Secretary of the Society, 1841-1872. See W. Knight, The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn (London, 1880). The best study of Budd's career is Katherine Pettipas, "A History of the work of the Reverend Henry Budd Conducted Under the Auspices of the Church Missionary Society 1840-1875" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972).

[80]C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretary, August 6, 1840.

began to take on an additional dimension. Early in 1840 Governor George Simpson approached Dr. Robert Alder, one of four directing secretaries of the Missionary Committee of Wesleyan Methodism, to solicit the services of missionaries for Rupert's Land. Three of the men who secured appointments, Rev. George Barnley,[81] Rev. Robert Rundle,[82] and Rev. William Mason,[83] arrived in Montreal from England that spring. They were joined there by Rev. James Evans,[84] an experienced missionary who had been working with Indians at Rice Lake in Canada West. Since they were Company chaplains, they were transported to their respective posts at Company expense. Rundle was stationed at Edmonton House, Barnley at Moose Factory, and Mason at Lac-la-Pluie (Rainy Lake). It was Evans' responsibility to superintend all of their activities from his base at Norway House.

From the perspective of the two Anglican missionaries in Red River, the introduction of Wesleyan missionaries at the Hudson's Bay Company's expense was cause for a great deal of anxiety. They felt

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[81] Barnley returned to England shortly afterward because of domestic difficulties resulting from friction between his wife and the Company's officers.

[82] Rundle returned to England in 1848. Gerald M. Hutchison's introduction to Hugh A. Dempsey, ed., The Rundle Journals 1840-1848, I (Calgary, 1977).

[83] Mason joined the Church of England in 1854 rather than serve the independent Canadian Methodist Conference which had inherited missionary responsibilities in Rupert's Land from the British Wesleyan Society.

[84] Several largely uncritical biographical accounts of Evans' career have been published. See Egerton Young, The Apostle of the North (New York, 1899); John McLean, James Evans, Inventor of the Syllabic System of the Cree Language (Toronto, 1890), and; Nan Shipley, The James Evans Story (Toronto, 1966).

that the Wesleyans were introduced in an attempt to dislodge the Church Missionary Society from the country.[85] Cockran and Smithurst believed that the Company desired, in the interests of the fur trade, to keep the natives in a state of barbarism. The itinerant form of ministry the Wesleyans used was thought to be more acceptable to the fur traders. Cockran quoted the Wesleyans as saying to the Company: "We will not civilize one family . . . We shall only preach the Gospel to the Indians, to comfort him when he is travelling thro [sic] the wood."[86] The Anglican approach was to civilize and evangelize by establishing sedentary agricultural settlements. The results had been encouraging from the standpoint of the missionaries, but as one can observe from their actions, the Company's representatives in Rupert's Land were apprehensive about this form of mission expansion. Smithurst was very annoyed that the Company did not provide transportation for the Society men, but had paid for the lodgings, transport, and even provided translators for four Wesleyans.[87] Furthermore, the Company had guaranteed financial support for Wesleyan mission work. Smithurst and Cockran left no question in the mind of the Colony's Governor, Duncan Finlayson, respecting their feelings. He wrote to Simpson: "The whole protestant Clergy are very much annoyed and mettled at the introduction of the Wesleyan Missionaries."[88]

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[85] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretary, August 1, 1840.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 5, 1840.

[88] H.B.C.A., D.5/7, fos. 192-193d, Duncan Finlayson to Simpson, August 10, 1842.

Rev. J. Evans, the Wesleyan from Norway House, made a point of not interfering with the Anglican mission station at The Pas in the Cumberland District. He visited Henry Budd only twice during his tenure.[89] On the occasion of his first visit he wrote to Cockran at Red River to ensure that his motives would not be misconstrued.[90] In spite of his assurances, the Anglicans were disturbed that he should insist upon visiting a district to which they believed they had prior claim. They based their claim on Benjamin Harrison's promise to allow them to "evangelize and civilize Indians there in the same manner as . . . Red River."[91]

The Wesleyans did not prove to be as effective a threat to the Anglicans as the missionaries had originally thought they might be. To begin with, Wesleyan efforts in the area of Indian evangelism did not meet with propitious results. Their plan of evangelism seemed haphazard and ill-coordinated, consisting largely of printing tracts in the language of the Indians,[92] and building a model farm at Norway House. There they urged the development of cottage industry and promoted Victorian

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[88]Katherine Pettipas, ed., The Diary of Reverend Henry Budd 1870-1875 IV (Winnipeg, 1974), p. xiii.

[90]Evans, with no intention of interfering, nevertheless felt obligated to visit because his Society and the Company expected him to do so. Letter from Evans to Cockran, September 16, 1840, quoted in C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst to the Secretaries, November 2, 1840.

[91]Ibid., Cockran to the Secretaries, August 4, 1841.

[92]See Bruce Peel, "Frustrations of the Missionary Printer of Rossville; Reverend William Mason," Records and Proceedings of the Committee on Archives of the United Church of Canada XVIII (1965):20-25.

views such as Sabbatarianism.[93] In a recent study, William Brooks notes that the

> Methodists could only bring Eighteenth-Century Methodism, Victorian respectability or all the trappings of a print-based institutionalism to the Indian. The truth was that they were never absolutely clear as to what they were doing in the North-West.[94]

In addition to the weaknesses of their program, the Wesleyans encountered further difficulties when they managed to antagonize their sponsors, the Hudson's Bay Company. Simpson had expected them to behave like Company servants as in his view they "had merely been taken on staff."[95] Rev. J. Evans' interference with one of Chief Factor Donald Ross' boat crews is illustrative of how the Wesleyans, particularly Evans, managed to fall into disfavour. Influenced by Evans' insistence that they practice Sabbatarianism, Ross' boat crew refused to work unless they were guaranteed the right to Sundays free of travel. An angry Ross wrote to Simpson to complain that if Evans were allowed to remain in the country they could expect "disastrous results."[96] Simpson, likewise, was reported to have been upset enough to openly confront Evans. He stated that he preferred Roman Catholics, since they "never interfered with the Company's servants, nor trouble them with any precise or puritanical notions about the moral law."[97]

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[93] William Brooks, "British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Activities in Hudson's Bay Company Territory, 1840-1854," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Study Sessions, No. 37 (1970):27-28.

[94] Ibid., p. 26.

[95] Ibid., p. 23.

[96] H.B.C.A., D.5/14, fo. 32ff., Donald Ross to Simpson, May 20, 1845.

[97] Wallace, Notes of a Twenty-Five Year's Service, p. 368.

Relations between the Company and the Wesleyan missionaries continued to degenerate, and after Evans left the country the Company gradually withdrew their support to the Wesleyans. In 1845 Evans was recalled to England after Governor George Simpson wrote to Dr. Alder, in London, requesting that Evans be removed because of his interference in Company affairs.[98] There was also an implication in the wind that Evans had been responsible for the murder of his Indian assistant, Thomas Hassel.[99] As the 1840's progressed, Anglican references to the Wesleyans as competitors became less and less frequent. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, continued to attract the attention of the Anglicans, even though the Company had given the papal church virtually no encouragement to expand their operations.[100]

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[98]Frits Pannekoek's interpretation of the deterioration of relations between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Wesleyans is much different than previous explanations. He argues that "Social antagonisms, not a fundamental split over policy between the missionary society and the Company, was the principal factor causing the Evans difficulties." See Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans and the Social Antagonisms of the Fur Trade Society, 1840-1846," in Religion and Society in the Prairie West, ed. Richard Allen (Regina, 1974), p. 16.

[99]There are two versions of Thomas Hassel's death. One version corroborated by witnesses, has it that the incident was purely accidental. Letitia Hargrave to Mrs. Dugald Mactavish, York Factory, November 27, 1844 in MacLeod, Letters of Letitia Hargrave, p. 191. George Simpson did not believe that the death was accidental, "but a deliberately planned murder." He explained, "It is very desirable we should know whether intimacy existed between Evans and Hassal's [sic] wife & whether Hassal was aware of it." Simpson to Donald Ross, July 7, 1846, quoted in Brooks, "British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Activities in the Hudson's Bay Company Territory, 1840-1854," p. 32.

[100]Simpson noted that "the jealousy that exists on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy of Canada, on the greater support afforded to the Protestant missionaries than to those of their own persuasion, is very great, and I have reason to believe has excited their displeasure

The single Roman Catholic foray into the Cumberland district during this period met with failure and a tragic end. Smithurst, Mr. Budd's liaison with the Anglican Red River Mission, reported to the Society that a Roman Catholic priest from France, Rev. Jean Darveau, had arrived at The Pas in 1843 and had located his camp one hundred yards from the mission schoolhouse. Smithurst advised Budd not to worry because the advantages of their mission program, food, clothing and English instruction, would be more attractive to the Swampie Cree.[101] Cockran, however, recognized that the Roman Catholic approach to native ministry included advantages. "These savages make good Roman Catholics; the priests sprinkle them with holy water and tell them that they are safe: they hang a cross around their necks and tell them they are invulnerable."[102] The Anglicans apparently monitored the movements of the invading priest. A. G. Morice, author of History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada from Lake Superior to the Pacific, 1659-1895, charged that Budd and his followers used bribery and physical threats to deter attendance at Darveau's church functions.[103]

For the Cumberland Indians experiencing difficulties in comprehending Christian doctrine, the introduction of a competing denomination

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to a very considerable degree." Simpson to the Governor and Committee, Red River, June 20, 1841, in Glyndwr Williams, ed., Simpson's Letters to London 1841-42 (London, 1973), p. 42. To date, the relationship between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church of Rome has not been analysed in depth. Rev. Gaston Carrière's article, "L'Honorable Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson et les Missions dans l'Ouest Canadien," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Study Sessions, No. 32 (1965):63-80 is disappointingly superficial.

[101] C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst to the Secretaries, December 22, 1843.

[102] Ibid., Cockran, Journal, October 7, 1833.

[103] Morice, Catholic Church in Western Canada, I, pp. 177-178.

led to bewilderment. Louis Constant, the Cumberland Chief, wrote to Smithurst to indicate that he had not encouraged the French priest to settle, but that his father and several others desired the priest to come and baptize.[104] Darveau did not baptize many, but Louis Constant was troubled by the fact that some of his children had changed their faith and forsaken him. He wrote, "my mind is troubled now about these different religions." But he promised that he would not change religions until he heard from Smithurst.[105]

After marking the site of his first efforts with a cross, Darveau returned to Red River for the winter with the intention of returning the next spring with supplies for a permanent establishment.[106] On his return trip in June of 1844 he and the two Indian boys who accompanied him drowned in Baie des Canards.[107] The unfortunate incident abruptly ended denominational threats to the Cumberland station known as The Pas, but it was not until after Rev. James Hunter and his wife[108] arrived in the late summer of 1844 that the Anglican Red River Mission ceased its close supervision over the affairs at The Pas.

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[104] C.M.S.A., I.C., Louis Constant (the Cumberland Chief) to Smithurst, Pas, June 14, 1844.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid., Mr. Henry Budd to Smithurst, January 2, 1844.

[107] Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretaries, July 30, 1844. Morice, Catholic Church in Western Canada, I, pp. 174-182 claims that Darveau was murdered by three Indians who were hostile because of ill will induced by their Anglican rivals.

[108] Letitia Hargrave, who greeted the Hunters at York Factory, observed "I rather think they are the best that have come yet." Letitia Hargrave to Mrs. Dugald Mactavish, York Factory, September 9, 1844, in MacLeod, Letters of Letitia Hargrave, p. 185.

Other stations to the south continued to attract the vigilance of the Anglican Red River clergy. In the summer of 1842 Anglican mission work in the vicinity of Manitoba Lake took its first faltering steps. As had been the case in Cumberland, a desire to check the incursion of the Church of Rome into the area motivated them to act. In August Cockran wrote to the Society to report that "Popery is taking root in the vicinity of Manitoba Lake and it is our bounden duty to send an antidote to correct its baneful tendency."[109] The Roman Catholic Church had previously been active west of the Red River Settlement. In 1832-33 Rev. George-Antoine Bellecourt[110] began an Indian mission village on the Assiniboine River, called Baie-Saint-Paul, to the west of the Métis settlement of Saint-Francois-Xavier. His ministry was extended to the Saulteaux on land granted to him by the Hudson's Bay Company. During the summer of 1840 Bellecourt started two missions, one at Wabassimong Falls on the Winnipeg River and the other at Baie des Canard.[111] The "antidote" planned by the Anglican Mission was to send Rev. Abraham Cowley to establish a mission in the Manitoba Lake district. He would use the same plan which had proven successful in the Indian Settlement.

Cockran and Smithurst also began making preparations for another mission station in 1842. In response to the plea by one of the chiefs

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[109] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretary, July 28, 1842.

[110] The most comprehensive study of Bellecourt's career is James M. Reardon, George Anthony Belcourt, Pioneer Catholic Missionary of the North-West 1803-1874 (St. Paul, Minn., 1955).

[111] The two missions were combined in 1848 and abandoned two years later. Partial support for his work came from the Société de la Propagation de la Foi. See Annals of the Propagation of the Faith 1838-1851 for information on the work of the Society.

of the bands frequenting Fort Ellice on Beaver Creek[112] for a schoolmaster, Smithurst and Cockran sent James Settee in September of 1842 to establish a new mission outpost. Settee, a Cree Indian, had been one of the first students John West had chosen to accompany him to Red River in 1820. The Company traders who introduced him to the band leaders treated Settee well. One of the chiefs had known Joseph Harbridge, a Cree Indian boy, who died in 1824 while attending West's Indian Residential School in Red River. Settee indicated to the Indians that he was a classmate of the deceased and that he had come in his place. Settee's announcement so moved the Indians that they invited him to winter with them.[113] When Settee returned to Red River in April of 1843 he was enthusiastic about the prospect of a permanent mission station at Fort Ellice. In addition to giving access to the Dakota, Assiniboine, Mandans, Crees and Saulteaux, provisions were reported to be plentiful. Thus, he reasoned that the cost of running the mission station would be insignificant.[114]

Anglican mission expansion efforts in this region appear to have been acceptable to Governor Simpson. In 1843 he wrote:

> In answer to your enquiries as to whether the missionary establishment that has been formed at Manitobah [sic] and the School in the neighbourhood of Beaver Creek; I beg to say that no objection will exist on the part of the Company; on the contrary, that we shall be happy to promote the objects of those establishments by our own good offices towards them.[115]

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[112] C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst to the Secretaries, October 26, 1842.

[113] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretaries, January 3, 1843.

[114] Ibid., Smithurst, Report of Fort Ellice, August 1, 1843.

[115] P.A.C., M.G. 19E6, Vol. I, George Simpson to Cockran, Ft. Garry, July 3, 1843.

Their parent missionary society, the Church Missionary Society, in financial distress at the time, was not nearly so accommodating. Cockran received orders to curtail efforts at Manitoba Lake while Smithurst was reprimanded for going ahead with the Fort Ellice station without seeking prior approval.[116] Cowley returned to Red River for a year to fill a vacancy. Meanwhile, John Garrioch, a Country-born catechist, maintained Cowley's Partridge Crop[117] mission station until the missionary was able to return in 1844. Smithurst sent James Settee and his wife back to Fort Ellice in the fall of 1843 with instructions to build a school and to urge the Indians to settle.[118]

Both Smithurst and Cockran felt justified in continuing with the work, despite the Society's instructions to cut back on their activities and to restrict expenditures.[119] They argued that they could do so without incurring much additional expense. Furthermore, Cockran pointed out that if they were to pull back to Red River, the natives of the country would attribute it to "indifference and neglect."[120] His colleague, Smithurst, warned that at that time the

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[116] C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 8, 1843.

[117] The Manitoba Lake station was relocated twice before a final site was chosen. The name was changed from Partridge Crop to Fairford in 1851.

[118] C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst, Instructions to Mr. & Mrs. Settee, October 2, 1843. The Ft. Ellice station was closed in the summer of 1845 because of the lack of response from Indians in that area. Settee then joined Budd as an interpreter at The Pas and shortly afterwards began a station at Lac la Ronge, 1845-46. Ibid., Hunter to the Church Missionary Society, August 4, 1846.

[119] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretaries, August 5, 1843.

[120] Ibid.

Indians urgently desired salvation and "we must either swim with the current, which runs so strongly in favour of Christianity or we ourselves shall be overwhelmed by it."[121] When Cowley returned to Partridge Crop in 1844, Smithurst and Cockran were finally relieved of much of the responsibility they had assumed in directing and administering expansion efforts. By 1844 neither the Wesleyans nor the Catholics appeared to pose a threat any longer. The urgent need to extend the Mission's influence beyond Red River had passed from the realm of concern. While staffing problems and mission expansion and occupied the missionaries, efforts to stabilize their property and jurisdictional interest in Red River was also an important consideration.

3. "STRENGTHENING THE STAKES"

Mistrust of Governor Simpson's motives for wishing to relocate the Indian Settlement to Cumberland in 1839 fueled the fires of anxiety with respect to the future status of the Anglican Mission in Red River. While "lengthening the cords" it was necessary to "strengthen the stakes."[122] After Jones' departure, Smithurst's and Cockran's correspondence demonstrated a growing uneasiness over the ill-defined nature of their dual appointments as Church Missionary Society missionaries and Company chaplains. The possibility that the Hudson's Bay Company might introduce other Christian denominations into the Settlement, and the lack of legal titles to church properties which the Society missionaries had developed distressed them. For the missionaries, a number of

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[121] Ibid., Smithurst to the Rt. Hon. President, August 10, 1843.

[122] Tucker, Rainbow of the North, p. 131.

incidents would underline the necessity of placing the entire Mission on a firmer foundation, free from the dictates of a civil power primarily interested in creating a stable economic climate.

Chaplaincy appointments, with their potential to act as a constraint on the independence of the Anglican missionaries, became a source of increasing perturbation. Regular stipends received from the Company had been useful in expanding missionary work. But as the Mission began developing its own institutional structure, the pressing need for the Mission to act independently of secular controls grew more apparent. Jones had once spoken of the system as one "which cannot own any other head then the Prince of Darkness."[123] The system itself may have been perceived to be untenable, but for expediency's sake it was necessary to sustain it. By doing so the Anglican Mission was able to maintain its influence over the Upper Church which, according to Smithurst, the Company wrongly thought of as "their Church."[124]

With Smithurst attending to the Indian Settlement almost exclusively after 1839, Cockran, overworked and still experiencing failing health, urged his missionary society to place a new man in the Upper Settlement.[125] Living near Lower Church, Cockran was too distant from the Upper Mission to adequately serve their needs as a resident missionary. Recognizing that it would be difficult to fill properly Jones' shoes and to satisfy the "Principal Settlers" and Presbyterians who were concentrated in that parish, he wrote that "the person appointed to it

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[123] C.M.S.A., I.C., Jones to the Secretary, Lampeter, Wales, January 5, 1839.

[124] Ibid., Smithurst to Rev. R. Davies, August 12, 1844.

[125] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretary, June 17, 1840.

would require a tolerable share of pulpit eloquence, a powerful voice and a talent for preaching extempore."[126] Finding the right man for the "Mother of Protestantism in Rupert's Land," was important to Cockran and Smithurst, because both Simpson and Governor Finlayson were Presbyterians. Under the constant importuning of the Kildonan Scots, it was thought that they might "introduce of this class."[127]

An additional cause for anxiety was the question of property ownership. Smithurst considered the Company unjustified in its claims to own the Upper Church and to administer its affairs."[128] They reputedly based their claim on the large Company subscription made towards building the new Upper Church in 1832. Smithurst thought their claim parsimonious, since they had contributed less than half of the amount required to meet the necessary financial commitments of the parish since Rev. John West's time.[129] Apparently Simpson, in conversation with Cockran, told the preacher that he would be allowed to give sermons in the Lower Church only if he continued as chaplain.[130] Smithurst, hearing of the threat directed at Cockran, thought that this effort to lay claim to the Lower Church was ridiculous. The extent of the Company's subscription towards the expense of the church, he explained, had been the purchase of one pew.[131] He added, however,

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[126] Ibid.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretaries, November 2, 1840.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretary, August 2, 1841.

that things might become very difficult for them after June 1, 1841, the expiration date of both his and Cockran's chaplaincy appointments.[132] Were the Company to press claims of ownership and control, neither of them would have "the right to officiate."[133]

To the Anglican missionaries, the Company at times seemed deliberately to impede them. The Company refused to grant canoe passage from Montreal to Mr. and Mrs. Cowley in 1841, excusing themselves by saying, "We were not in a situation to convey a lady passenger."[134] Their refusal may have been an honest one but it required the Cowleys to return to Britain and to come out by ship through Hudson's Bay.[135] Mr. Cockran contemplated taking a leave once Cowley arrived, provided he would be able to secure Cowley's appointment as Company chaplain to the Upper Church.[136] He suggested Cowley to Simpson for the Upper Church, but the Governor refused the offer.[137] Cockran's concern about the Upper Church was justified for the same year Simpson wrote: "I at one time thought it might be advisable, in the event of Mr. Cockran's going home, to get one of the Wesleyan Missionaries to officiate at the Upper Church."[138] He decided against that course of action,

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[132] H.B.C.A., A.6/25, fos. 114-115, London Committee Secretary to John Smithurst.

[133] C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst to the Secretaries, November 2, 1840.

[134] Simpson to Governor and Committee, Lachine, April 20, 1841 in Williams, Simpson's Letters 1841-42, p. 13.

[135] C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 1, 1842.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Simpson to Governor and Committee, Red River, June 20, 1841 in Williams, Simpson's Letters 1841-42, p. 13.

but of one thing Simpson was sure: he recommended to the Governor and Committee in London that no "other clergyman connected with the Missionary Society should be allowed to come to this country."[139] Tensions arising from these incidents remained submerged until 1842, but they boiled over when Smithurst decided to take direct action against what he sincerely believed to be the insidious plans of Governor George Simpson and Recorder Adam Thom, both Presbyterians, to interfere in the internal affairs of the Anglican Mission.

Governor Simpson, aware that Rev. Cockran planned to leave Red River in the summer of 1842, suggested to Abraham Cowley and John Roberts that they return with Cockran to Montreal.[140] By accompanying Cockran, he explained, they would insure the legality of their proposed ordinations, rather than wait until the projected but yet uncertain episcopal visit to Red River of Bishop George Jehosaphat Mountain of Montreal. Had all three men sought passage to Canada, Smithurst would have been left to minister to four active congregations by himself. From Smithurst's perspective, Simpson's suggestion was part of a "stratagem" to have parishioners of the Upper Church thinking that during the absence of the Anglican staff "the Upper Church could be taken by the Wesleyan."[141] The Wesleyan referred to by Smithurst was Rev. William Mason who reputedly "went about under their [Company] auspices to all

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[139] Ibid.

[140] C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 1, 1842.

[141] Ibid. The Anglicans were of the opinion that Wesleyans were "only lay teachers being possessed of no valid or legal ordination whatever." Ibid., Smithurst to the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, August 8, 1842.

the principal settlers seeking to ingratiate himself."[142]

When Adam Thom's essay entitled "Observations on the Colonial Ordination Act,"[143] first appeared, Smithurst was outraged. He suspected, no doubt, that Thom was acting in this instance with the Company's approval. The essay raised the issue of whether the Archbishop of Canterbury could legally grant authority to the Bishop of Montreal to ordain clergymen during his visit. Smithurst apologetically explained a year later: "the impression upon my mind at the time was, that the 'essay' was the first of a series of 'heavy blows and great discouragements' intended to be inflicted upon the Church of England in this country."[144]

Recorder Thom was not the first to raise questions about the proprieties of colonial ordinations.[145] The question troubled Smithurst enough to motivate him to visit Thom late in 1841 requesting at that time to see the Colonial Ordination Act.[146] Thom was probably uninterested in the issue until then, but stimulated by Smithurst's visit, he took up his pen on the subject. He wrote and then circulated his essay in March of 1842. Thom argued that the Archbishop of Canterbury would be incapable, because of legal statute, of authorizing the Bishop of

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[142] Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 1, 1842.

[143] Ibid., Correspondence, Colonial Ordination Controversy of 1842. Observations on the Colonial Ordination Act, March 9, 1842.

[144] Ibid., Smithurst to Thom, June 5, 1843.

[145] See Ibid., Rev. Mr. Willoughby to Rev. Vores, Montreal, February 22, 1841.

[146] Ibid., Smithurst to Governor and Committee of the H.B.C., August 8, 1842.

Montreal to ordain clergy in Red River. He believed that such authorization was impossible as only the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London were specifically authorized to ordain in regions that were not diocesan territories. Smithurst's position, that the Archbishop of Canterbury could empower the Bishop of Montreal to ordain in Red River, eventually won the day on the advice of the lawyers of the Hudson's Bay Company in London,[147] but not before a flurry of bitter notes were exchanged between Thom and Smithurst over the matter.[148]

For the Company, as civil authorities, to interfere in an area which was clearly an ecclesiastical concern, was undeniably an intrusion beyond "its own proper sphere,"[149] Smithurst thought. Therefore, he decided to take a stand, not being willing to acquiesce in the Company's "right of superintending us."[150] What followed was a bitter and acrimonious debate during which the clash of two personalities clouded the issue involved. Smithurst sarcastically said that Thom was easily satisfied by "the contemplation of his own imaginary greatness,"[151] while Thom, dismayed by the forceful attack from his opponent, commented sardonically about Smithurst's "literary vanity,"[152] in

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[147] H.B.C.A., A.6/26, fos. 88-89, London Committee Secretary to John Smithurst, March 29, 1843.

[148] See C.M.S.A., I.C., Correspondence, Colonial Ordination Controversy of 1842, documents from March 9, 1842 to April 21, 1842.

[149] Ibid., Smithurst to Governor and Committee of the H.B.C., August 8, 1842.

[150] Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 1, 1842.

[151] Ibid., Smithurst to the Governor and Committee of the H.B.C., August 8, 1842.

[152] H.B.C.A., D.5/7, fos. 157-158, Adam Thom to Simpson, August 4, 1842.

attempting to match legal wits with him. Apparently the two men were not on speaking terms for most of the next year. When the spring mail arrived in 1843, the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company both scolded Smithurst for having taken a discourteous approach to the debate, regardless of the misgivings he might have had.[153] He apologized for his remarks and Thom reciprocated. Despite this reconciliation, Smithurst remained convinced "that the Recorder's interference was unnecessary."[154] Both Thom and Smithurst were recent arrivals in the Settlement and their individual experiences there were somewhat similar. Neither man seemed to be very adaptable in attempting to come to terms with his new life in the Red River Settlement. Each man took himself far too seriously. In time each left the Settlement under unpleasant circumstances, neither man having fitted into the social world that was Red River.[155]

The local missionaries' perceptions of their relationship with the Company are apparent in the ordination controversy. Smithurst had been continually apprehensive about expansion and consolidation of the Mission since his arrival two years earlier. At every turn the Company appeared to be setting up roadblocks for the Mission. Thom's essay on ordination provoked a response from Smithurst that demonstrated a mercurial personality. When the issue arose he sought Cockran's

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[153] P.A.C., M.G. 19 E6 Vol. I, Richard Davies to Smithurst, March 31, 1843; H.B.C.A., A.6/26, fos. 88-89, London Committee Secretary to John Smithurst, March 29, 1843.

[154] C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 8, 1843.

[155] Thom was forced to withdraw from the Colony in 1854 under pressure from the Métis and Hudson's Bay Company. Smithurst left hastily in 1851 after being implicated in an unsubstantiated scandal.

counsel as to how he should respond. Cockran advised him to avoid provoking unnecessary trouble by not responding at all.[156] From previous experiences, Cockran knew that Simpson was unlikely openly to block their efforts if they were cautious and diplomatic in their actions. Prior to 1838 Jones and Cockran successfully aided the relationship by reaching mutually satisfactory accommodations with the Company. They recognized that some of the Company's postures were mere ploys that were intended to discourage but not forbid. Such postures were seldom sustained. An example of this state of affairs had occurred in 1834 when Simpson refused to allow Cockran to continue at the Indian Settlement. Rather than blowing the matter out of proportion, Cockran continued to operate as if nothing had been said and instructed his Society not to publish Simpson's prohibitions. By doing so, Cockran allowed Simpson ample room to retreat from his position without losing face. Smithurst, impatient and less experienced, was unaware of the required compromises, and did not seem to appreciate the fact that certain tensions had always existed between the divergent yet interdependent interests of the Company and the Mission.[157]

As early as 1836 Bishop Mountain of Montreal had approached the Church Missionary Society in London with the suggestion of an episcopal visit,[158] but it was not until 1840 that a reduction in his duties

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[156] C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 1, 1842; P.A.C., M.G. 19 E6 Vol. 1, Cockran to Smithurst, April 24, 1842.

[157] Goosens, "Relationship of the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company," passim.

[158] C.M.S.A., I.C., Bishop of Montreal to the Secretary, Quebec, August 12, 1840.

allowed him to think seriously about the journey. The Society heartily approved of the planned excursion and offered to pay his expenses.[159] The local missionaries were delighted with the prospect. In contrast, the Hudson's Bay Company, on whom Mountain was required to depend for canoe transportation, was not particularly obliging when providing a crew or travel advice.[160] Obstacles presented by the Company as well as the ill-health of Bishop Mountain combined to delay the visit until 1844. During his brief stay in Red River, Mountain visited each of the congregations in the Mission and came away impressed with the achievement. Mountain, whom Cockran described as "a humble, devoted Christian, willing to be made all things to all men," was enthusiastically received.[161] Smithurst reported that "his faithful and impressive sermons, even seemed to secure the Scoth [sic] Covenanters of their bitter hostility to episcopacy."[162] Smithurst's view of the Kildonan Scots' feelings towards the Anglican Church would prove to be overly optimistic. With the arrival of Rev. John Black, a Presbyterian minister, in September of 1851, three hundred members, uncomfortable with the increasing Episcopal character of the church, left to form the first Presbyterian congregation in Red River.[163] While in Red River, Mountain

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[159]George Jehoshaphat Mountain, The Journal of the Bishop of Montreal (London, 1845), pp. 4-5.

[160]C.M.S.A., I.C., Bishop of Montreal to Rev. T. Vores, November 26, 1841.

[161]Ibid., Cockran, Journal, June 24, 1844; Address of the Protestant Inhabitants of the Red River Settlement to the Bishop of Montreal, n.d., 1844.

[162]Ibid., Smithurst to the Earl of Chichester, August 1, 1844.

[163]Convenor of the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland to Alexander Ross, Glasgow, Scotland, May 16, 1849, quoted in

ordained John Macallum[164] and Abraham Cowley priests at a service conducted at Middle Church. The conferring of priest's orders meant that Macallum could then assist in serving the Red River Mission, while Cowley, who had been serving there, was permitted to return to Partridge Crop. The ordinations even held out the hope that Cockran could at last make plans for his long awaited retirement to Canada.

Emotionally and psychologically uplifting, the episcopal visit was an opportunity for all the Mission's participants to reflect upon, celebrate, and offer thanks for past accomplishments and achievements. For the missionaries, Mountain's promise that he would use his influence to bring about the establishment of a bishopric in Rupert's Land[165] was an occasion for rejoicing. It would be a major step towards acquiring the independence of action they desired. As Cockran explained: "A Priest of the Church of England finds himself accountable to the

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Ross, Red River Settlement, p. 352; Simpson to Ross, July 7, 1849 and July 2, 1850, quoted in Ibid., pp. 353-354; Eden Colvile to Alexander Ross, October 30, 1850, in Rich, Colvile's Letters, p. 40; David Rupert's Land to Eden Colvile, November 21, 1851, in Ibid., p. 87; Eden Colvile to Sir J. H. Pelly Bart, Governor of the H.B.C., December 18, 1851, in Ibid., p. 83; The Petition of the Bishop of Rupert's Land and the Clergy, December 13, 1851, in Ibid., p. 95; H.B.C.A., A.6/29, fo. 166d, Governor and Committee to Colvile and the Council of the Northern Department, April 7, 1852.

[164] Macallum served the Upper Church until 1847, when Cockran took over from him.

[165] Armine W. Mountain, Memoir of George Jehoshaphat Mountain, Lord Bishop of Quebec (Montreal, 1866), p. 247. He made good on his promise. His published Journal, the proceeds from which were to go toward the establishment of the new bishopric, was an effective tool in bringing Rupert's Land to the attention of Evangelical laymen in England. M. P. Wilkinson, "The Episcopate of the Right Reverend David Anderson, D.D., First Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, 1849-1864" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1950), pp. 67-68.

civil authorities in the absence of a Bishop, and . . . he cannot move here or there without their permission."[166] The Bishop's visit emphasized as well that if the Mission was going to become firmly established, diocesan status was a necessity. Smithurst and Cockran immediately began concocting schemes to pay for the salary of a resident bishop, explaining that "this is the only measure which can be adopted to perpetuate the existence and increase the influence of the Episcopal Church in Rupert's Land."[167] The Mission, however, would remain "a body without a head"[168] for the following five years.

In the meantime the mission staff in Red River continually wrote to their superiors in London emphasizing the need to act swiftly in this matter. They would leave little doubt that they were solidly in favour of the decision to establish a diocese in Rupert's Land. Although the decision was eventually made in London, the enthusiasm of the mission staff in Red River for the measure would add further impetus to the movement to secure the appointment of a bishop. Once the decision was taken, the missionaries in Red River applauded the action and began making necessary preparations for the arrival of the Bishop.

In 1844 the Anglican Red River Mission was not as firmly entrenched in the Settlement or as much in control of its own affairs as the missionaries would have found desirable. Their efforts to strengthen the Mission had witnessed the arrival and utilization of new staff, the "lengthening of the cords," and attempts to protect the

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[166] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran Journal, July 10, 1844.

[167] Ibid., Cockran to the Secretaries, n.d., rec'd October 16, 1844.

[168] Ibid., August 9, 1842.

Mission's interests in the Settlement. But their efforts to 1844 did not succeed in resolving the fundamental problem of placing the Mission "on a more secure footing." As a result, the decision to establish a bishopric in 1849 was most compatible with the purposes of the missionaries. The stability and freedom to act independently that they had been seeking was finally within sight. James, in referring to the establishment of the diocese in 1849, captured the mood of the clergy when he wrote: "Whilst the Saviour's Church in this country has 'lengthened her cords,' she had not till now firmly 'strengthened her stakes.'"[169]

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[169]Ibid., James to the Secretary, August 6, 1849.

CHAPTER IV

DENOUEMENT, 1845-1849: THE BISHOPRIC ESTABLISHED

On May 21, 1849 the Diocese of Rupert's Land was formed and shortly thereafter the Right Reverend David Anderson arrived in Red River to assume his duties as bishop. The event marked the culmination of efforts initiated a decade earlier to establish the Church of England in Rupert's Land on a more secure footing. Many of the problems which had occupied the attentions of Cockran, Smithurst and others were finally assumed by the Bishop within a diocesan organizational structure. The bishopric's formation gave the Anglican Church in the Settlement a renewed sense of direction, while stimulating reorganization in a number of areas: the method of acquiring church properties was formalized; responsibility for clergy appointments and supervision was more clearly defined; financial self support was encouraged among the membership; new administrative structures were set up; mission expansion was again given fresh impetus; and the training and deployment of native church workers was promoted. The years preceding Anderson's arrival witnessed the resurgence of free trade in the Colony. In the Mission, a rift between Smithurst and some of his Indian parishioners led to his resignation. Cockran also grew to find his work in the Mission less personally rewarding. Events and circumstances during the period from 1845 to 1849 seemed to indicate that both the Settlement and the Mission were rapidly changing. These changes added further

impetus to the missionaries' pursuit of diocesan status for the Red River Mission.

As early as 1842 Smithurst had written that the Anglican Mission would not be established on a permanent base until a bishop was in residence in Rupert's Land.[1] Bishop Mountain, who visted the Settlement in the spring of 1844, agreed that this was a necessary if not inevitable step and, following his return to Montreal, he encouraged the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company in London to enter into negotiations in order to bring this suggestion to fruition.[2] The Society was agreeable; the Company offered to provide a £300 annuity in perpetuity and expressed the desire to build a house for the bishop.[3] Knowing that the Company had made this offer assisted the Court of Chancery in probating the will of James Leith,[4] a former Hudson's Bay Company chief factor, who had bequeathed one half of his estate for "establishing, propagating and extending the Christian Protestant Religion in and amongst the native Aboriginal Indians in that

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[1] M. A. MacLeod, "The Lamp Shines in Red River," The Beaver (September 1936):44.

[2] C.M.S.A., I.C., Bishop of Montreal to Rev. H. Venn, Quebec, January 16, 1845.

[3] The most detailed information on the establishment of the bishopric is Wilkinson, "The Episcopate of the Right Reverend David Anderson, D.D., First Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, 1849-1864," Chapter III.

[4] James Leith began work with the XY Fur Company in 1798. In subsequent years, he became a wintering partner of the Northwest Company. In 1821, when his firm amalgamated with the Hudson's Bay Company, he was appointed Chief Factor; he served until his retirement in 1831. When he died seven years later in Torquay, England, family members contested his will.

part of America formerly called 'Rupert's Land.'"[5] After a ten year delay, the Court ruled that the bequest, totalling £11,978, be used for the establishment of the bishopric.

The first man chosen for the episcopal office was Rev. R. Davis, the former Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. When he declined the appointment, Rev. David Anderson was named bishop. Oxford educated and then serving the curacy of All Saint's Church in Derby, England, Anderson was at first unsure whether to accept. But the compelling letters he received from Bishop Mountain of Montreal helped to convince him to give his consent.[6] Anderson set out for Red River on the Company's ship Prince Rupert, arriving in York Factory August 16, 1849. Widowed shortly before, he was accompanied by his sister and his three sons, by Rev. and Mrs. Robert Hunt,[7] the new missionary couple for the Lac la Ronge station, and by Mr. John Chapman.[8] Rev. John Macallum, following a lengthy illness, died on the day that Anderson arrived in Red River. Macallum's home, connected to the Red River Academy, was chosen as the bishop's residence, and became known as "Bishop's Court." Although everything in the Mission appeared to be in good order when he arrived, the period preceding Anderson's appearance in the Colony was far from tranquil.

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[5]Will quoted in Harry Shave, "Centenary of a Diocese," The Beaver (September 1949):6. See also E. R. Bagley, "Two Curious Fur-Trade Wills . . . II: James Leith takes his Revenge," The Beaver (June 1943):34-37.

[6]Boon, Anglican Church, p. 64.

[7]See Goosens, "Relationship of the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company" for information on his career.

[8]John Chapman was later ordained and became the first full-time clergyman to serve the congregation of Middle Church.

The late 1840's in the Red River Settlement are most widely known to historical observers as the years which witnessed the resurgence of free trade.[9] Prior to 1840, the Hudson's Bay Company had licensed and supplied a number of independent free traders and freighters in an effort to curtail the activities of interlopers from south of the United States border. The system was successful while the Hudson's Bay Company provided the only market and source of supply for local trading. By 1844 the Company saw the situation deteriorating with the establishment of Kittson's post at Pembina, a few yards south of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude.[10] The encroaching American frontier offered a new source of supply for trade goods and an easily accessible market for furs and buffalo hides. The Company's licensing system fell into disrepute when a larger number of mixed blood traders began to operate in defiance of the Company's monopoly. When the Company's attempts to introduce restrictive measures proved unsuccessful, the illicit traders grew bolder. In an effort to "overawe the factious inhabitants,"[11] Simpson used the occasion of the Oregon Crisis to persuade the British government to send a force to Red River, ostensibly to defend against American incursions.[12] The presence of the four

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[9]See Giraud, Le Métis Canadien, pp. 898-944; John S. Galbraith, The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor 1821-1869 (Los Angeles, 1957), pp. 311-332; A. S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71 (Toronto, 1973), pp. 802-825; and, Rich, Hudson's Bay Company, II, pp. 531-562.

[10]Rife, "Norman W. Kittson," p. 232.

[11]Galbraith, Imperial Factor, p. 312.

[12]A comprehensive analysis of the arrival and the influence of the troops is W. D. Smith, "The Despatch of Troops to Red River in 1846, in Relation to the Oregon Question" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1951).

hundred single men of the Sixth Regiment of Foot under the command of Lt. Col. John Crofton, seemed to have had the desired effect. A resident wrote that the "presence of the red coats has made us draw in our horns like so many snails. The laws are respected, no mob-meetings, no plots, no threats, no illicit smugglers, no fur traders."[13]

Before the troops had arrived, free traders and their supporters had grown brazen enough to claim that a free trade in furs was the right of natives of the country.[14] In February of 1846 Andrew McDermot, a leading trader, held meetings in his home where disaffected Métis and Country-born free traders produced a petition with the assistance of Rev. Georges Bellecourt, the Roman Catholic missionary. The petition, which was sent to London, contained the signatures of 977 residents, and was "calculated to have maximum effect on such humanitarian organizations as the Aborigines Protection Society and various missionary societies,"[15] It blamed the Company for famine among the Indians, for the debauch of the natives through the use of liquor, and with opposition to Christianity. Alexander K. Isbister,[16] the British educated mixed blood son of a former Company officer, became their

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[13]Alexander Ross to Donald Ross, August 9, 1847, quoted in Galbraith, Imperial Factor, p. 317. James was less convinced of their value in the community. "The Soldiers have done much evil. . . . I had rather become the prey of the enemy. I had much rather be without their protection than see their shameful conduct any longer." C.M.S.A., I.C., James to the Secretaries, August 2, 1848.

[14]James Sinclair, et al to Alexander Christie, Governor of Red River Settlement, August 29, 1845, quoted in L. G. Thomas, ed., The Prairie West to 1905 (Toronto, 1975), p. 56.

[15]Galbraith, Imperial Factor, p. 318.

[16]See H. C. Knox, "Alexander Kennedy Isbister," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 3d. ser. (1957):17-28.

spokesman in London. The Colonial Office instructed Major William Caldwell,[17] the Governor of Assiniboia after 1848, to enquire into the accuracy of the petition's statements. In his report to the Colonial Secretary, Caldwell supported the Company and refuted the petitioner's claims.

The group of Chelsea pensioners who arrived in Red River in 1848 under the command of Major Caldwell were an ineffective replacement for the Sixth Regiment of Foot. During the Regiment's two year stay in the Settlement, they had been a stabilizing influence. In contrast, Alexander Ross observed: "As for the pensioners, all the authorities, civil and military, in the colony, could not keep them within the bounds of order."[18] The expanded mercantile activity stimulated by the presence of the Sixth Regiment, plus the contempt that most of the Settlement's inhabitants felt for the unruly and ineffectual pensioners, created a climate in which free trade again sprang up in defiance of Company authority.

A two year hiatus in the free trade movement, 1846-1848, ended with the removal of the troops. When free trade resumed, very few of the mainly Anglican Country-born were involved with the Roman Catholic Métis in the events which led up to the disturbance at the Sayer trial in 1849.[19] The free trade movement had threatened to join the large Country-born community and the Métis in common cause against the

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[17]Governor Colvile thought him "the most unmitigated ass I ever have had to do business with." Eden Colvile to Sir George Simpson, August 26, 1850, in Rich, Colvile's Letters, p. 195.

[18]Ross, Red River Settlement, p. 366.

[19]Foster, "Country-born," p. 253.

Company. The Anglican missionaries, for their part, affirmed the positive aspects of Anglican Protestantism and attempted to expose everything that they deemed to be negative in their Catholic competitor's ministry. Métis anti-Company activity was viewed by the missionaries as a "Catholic work of the Devil."[20] In addition, Cockran did not encourage free trade for fear of jeopardizing all of the hard won institutional achievements of the Anglican Mission in Red River. According to J. E. Foster, the position held by the majority of the Country-born populace was similar, as they did not wish to lose "their political and other institutions,"[21] the accoutrements of sedentary life, or support a movement which their clergy claimed was backed by the Church of Rome.[22]

In 1847 Smithurst revealed to Rev. Robert James the difficulties that he was having with an unruly element among his charges at the Indian Settlement. "With tears Mr. S. told me that after labouring so long for their welfare, they wished to remove him."[23] Agonized by the troubles he was experiencing, he lashed out at Cockran's strategy, criticizing him for having pursued civilization first and evangelization second. Smithurst claimed that most of "my difficulties at the Indian Settlement have arisen from the people not realizing all the dream held out to them as to the advantages of civilization."[24] Though his observation was perhaps

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[20]Pannekoek, "Red River Civil War," p. 135.

[21]Foster, "Country-born," p. 254.

[22]C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretaries, August 1, 1849.

[23]Ibid., James to Rev. R. Davies, August 7, 1847.

[24]Ibid., Smithurst, Journal, July 8, 1848. Cockran later reported that about 16-17 families had failed in their efforts to settle permanently, and had returned to barbarism. Ibid., Cockran to Rev. H. Venn, July 28, 1851.

accurate, it ignored the inadequacy of his manner and personality. Not only did the Indians feel that they were failing to realize sufficient benefits from the mission system but they resented the inflexible and cool disposition of their minister. The root of Smithurst's problem lay in a personality which was largely bereft of empathy. He was never able to garner the same kind of affection and respect which the Indian congregation had felt for Cockran. James' anecdote about his conversation with an Indian boatman was indicative of their feelings towards Cockran. The man was asked by James whether he knew Cockran. James wrote that the "sound of his Pastor's name filled his eyes in an instant with tears so, that it was only after some time that he answered me emphatically 'yes he was a good man.'"[25] Of Smithurst, it would be said that "all is in good order and arranged, and his plans are very systematic," but there was "a want of warmth and affectionateness in his intercourse with the people."[26]

The ravages of scarlet fever in the autumn and winter months of 1844-45, and poor crops in 1846 and again in 1848 created uncertain economic conditions in the Indian Settlement.[27] During this period the free traders in the Colony were also able to stir up the antipathies of a few of the Indians against the Company. For his part, Smithurst wrote that he "discountenanced the opposition to the utmost . . . on the side of the law and order," although he did not think that he had been

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[25]Ibid., James to Rev. H. Venn, January 11, 1847.

[26]Ibid., Bishop of Rupert's Land to Rev. H. Venn, November 22, 1849.

[27]Ibid., Smithurst, Report of the Indian Settlement for the Year Ending 1847 & 1848.

treated well by the Company.[28] When Smithurst began to withdraw material assistance in order to force his people to become more self-supporting, suspicions were aroused that he "only wants to keep it [food and clothing] for himself."[29]

When Major Caldwell asked Smithurst to respond to his inquiry into the charges of the 977 petitioners that the Company had treated the Indians harshly, Smithurst reported that the charges were unfounded.[30] Some members of his Indian parish, according to James, "were so annoyed that they told him [Smithurst] he was a deceiver, bribed by the Company and other approbruim."[31] At an assembly called to defend himself, several of the more militant Indians walked out in protest,[32] and proceeded

> to excite the Indians of his communion against him to the extent that a deputation . . . went up to Pembina and made a declaration . . . against their worthy partner, accusing him of forgery in favour of the Company - together with some unnatural crimes.[33]

Upset by the incident, Smithurst refused to extend communion privileges to the malcontents, and began to seriously entertain thoughts of leaving the country. Smithurst was later thankful that his Indian charges, who were invited to join in a show of strength with the mixed blood

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[28]Ibid., Smithurst to the Secretary, December 29, 1845.

[29]Ibid., "Pigwys" (Peguis), William King to the Secretaries, June 23, 1849.

[30]Cockran was the only Anglican clergyman who refused to testify. H.B.C.A., D.5/25, fos. 581-582, Donald Ross to Simpson, August 27, 1849.

[31]C.M.S.A., I.C., James to the Secretaries, August 6, 1849.

[32]Ibid., Smithurst, Journal, March 10, 1849.

[33]H.B.C.A., D.5/25, fos. 225-226, Alexander Christie to Simpson, May 29, 1849.

rebels during the Sayer trial, had chosen not to participate. But he could not overcome his mistrust of those who turned against him and he continued to be anxious about his relations with his flock.[34]

Two years after the Bishop's arrival in 1849, members of the "Indian Church" lodged complaints with Anderson against Smithurst. Anderson felt obliged to inquire into the allegations against Smithurst which he conceded "might be unfounded," but "could not acquit him" because he found "a want of . . . cordiality and sympathy between Pastor & people."[35] In addition, he felt that Smithurst was "very imprudent in doing with a medical object what was likely to be misinterpreted." Smithurst resigned from the Indian Church on June 1, 1851, and was replaced later that year by Rev. William Cockran.

Cockran had returned to the Anglican Mission in 1847 earnestly expecting to reestablish the kind of relationship that he had enjoyed with his Country-born and Indian parishioners before his retirement a year earlier. While in retirement, Cockran wrote: "the sincere interest which I felt in the welfare of the people of Red River, and having so long preached to them, and been daily in the habit of praying for them, I feel a kind of parental attachment to them."[36] Situated at the Upper Church after 1847, where he was to assist the ailing Macallum,[37] he seemed unhappy. With the establishment of a bishopric

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[34]C.M.S.A., I.C., Smithurst to Rev. H. Venn, August 6, 1850.

[35]Ibid., Bishop of Rupert's Land to Rev. H. Venn, June 25, 1851.

[36]Ibid., Cockran to Rev. R. Davies, Toronto, June 2, 1847.

[37]In the fall of 1846 Macallum wrote to Simpson urging the appointment of a chaplain to the Upper Church. He stated that the congregation had virtually been vacant for eight years with "no shepherd" to motivate increased membership and that he had been too sick to

expected soon, his formerly unofficial position as senior clergyman had dissolved in the eyes of his fellow clergy. Cockran complained that "our clergy in their own estimation are all equals, and they will not be influenced by the advice of those who by their experience might be able to guide them."[38] No doubt, also jealous of the warm reception James had received at Lower Church and Middle Church from the people in whose welfare he felt the greatest interest, Cockran began to criticize and interfere with his younger colleague's work. James was probably least joyous about Cockran's return to the Settlement, protesting that "he has begun to interfere too much with his old charge, . . . and expressed himself strongly respecting my deviations from his mode . . . which expressions were as imprudent as uncalled for."[39] Yet he had to admit that after all things were considered, "he [Cockran] is really worth three or four of me."[40]

After 1849, Cockran's unpopular support for the ineffective Governor Caldwell, the inflexible position he and Ann had taken on the scandal involving Captain Christopher Foss and Chief Factor Ballenden's wife,[41] and his failure to facilitate an agreement on Presbyterian claims would emphasize his inability to come to terms with either the changing nature of the society, or with the growing institutional nature

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officiate in public. H.B.C.A., D.5/18, fos. 381-382, Macallum to Simpson, November 20, 1846.

[38] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretary, August 1, 1849.

[39] Ibid., James to Rev. R. Davies, August 7, 1847.

[40] Ibid., Rev. Robert James returned to England in 1851 because of the ill health of his wife.

[41] The most extensive and entertaining account of this scandal is Pannekoek, "Churches and Social Structure," pp. 163-172.

of the Anglican Church in Red River. Cockran needed a new outlet for his ability and energy. In responding to the needs of the second generation of Country-born, as he perceived them, he found the challenge he needed. The economics of the river lot land shortage during the 1840's rendered it virtually impossible for the sons of the first generation Country-born, who had settled down to agriculture in Red River, to follow in their father's footsteps.[42] A recent demographic study reveals that by 1840 all of the best land in the Settlement had been taken and many patriarchal extended family farming enterprises were overtaxed in their ability to provide for an increasing population.[43] In 1850, drawing upon his previous experience, Cockran began making plans to relocate settlers from Red River to Portage la Prairie.[44] His plans reveal that he expected that Portage would parallel the arrangement he had at Grand Rapids and the Indian Settlement during the halycon years of his ministry there. Unable to move west until 1857,[45] the then Archdeacon Cockran would join a group of Country-

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[42] P.A.M. Peter Garrioch Diary, p. 34; James Sutherland, August 10, 1840, quoted in L. G. Thomas, The Prairie West to 1905, pp. 53-54.

[43] Frits Pannekoek, "A Probe into the Demographic Structure of Nineteenth Century Red River," in Essays on Western History, ed. L. H. Thomas (Edmonton, 1976), p. 83.

[44] A. C. Garrioch, The Correction Line (Winnipeg, 1933) and R. B. Hill, Manitoba: History of its Early Settlement, Development and Resources (Toronto, 1890) are both useful source works on the development of Portage la Prairie and the Anglican missions there.

[45] Cockran served the Indian Settlement from 1851 to 1853, when he was replaced by Cowley. He was appointed to the Rapids in 1853, the same year in which he became the Archdeacon of the District of Assiniboia. From 1855 to 1856 he was again back at the Indian Settlement while Cowley was on furlough. In 1857 he finally left Red River and was active in mission work in the Portage area until his death in 1865.

born settlers who had earlier moved to the new location. Reported to be over fifty families in number,[46] they would share with him the final period of his career.[47]

Before the arrival of Anderson in 1849, efforts to consolidate the hold of the Church of England over properties that the Society missionaries had developed in Red River, were directed towards securing and defending the exclusive right of Anglican priests to officiate in Protestant churches. Once the formation of a bishopric was assured, the consecration of church buildings and grounds became of primary concern. Cockran explained: "We shall . . . be able to get Churches consecrated, and this will prevent other bodies setting up a claim to them." Since the Presbyterian element claimed certain rights, compensations and privileges with respect to the Upper and Middle Churches, the consecration of those two churches, in 1853, was delayed until after Presbyterian claims were settled.

On December 19, 1849 the new Lower Church (St. Andrew's) became the first church to be consecrated by the bishop, thereby preserving the building and land for the exclusive use of the Church of England.[49]

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[46] Garrioch, Correction Line, p. 188.

[47] To date there is no complete scholarly treatment of Cockran's career in Red River and Portage, which spanned the period from 1825 to 1865.

[48] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretary, August 1, 1849.

[49] The petition to consecrate and other legal documents were prepared by Adam Thom. Ibid., Bishop of Rupert's Land to Rev. H. Venn, January 22, 1850. For other relevant documents see Ibid., Rupert's Land - Grant of Saint Andrew's Church, Red River Settlement to the Lord Bishop and his Successors, December, 1849 and Grant of Land for the Uses of Saint Andrew's Church to the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, December, 1849.

One week later, Anderson held his primary visitation in the same building, delivering his first charge to the clergy.[50] Bishop Anderson recorded his impression of the value of the consecration in a letter to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. "This public Consecration of a Church, which will hold nearly 1,000 persons, will give a fixedness & stability to the Church in this Country, and do much to consolidate the whole on a firm basis."[51]

Shortly after the visit of Bishop Mountain in 1844 Cockran had suggested that his Grand Rapids congregation build a stone church large enough to meet their expanded seating needs.[52] Reflecting the growing maturity of the congregation, a committee of directors was selected to supervise the accounts, acquire materials and solicit funds for the new building. The congregation promised to contribute nearly £700 in materials and labour towards the estimated total cost of £1,136. Cockran was ecstatic after one of their early meetings. "Silver and gold they had none; but stones, lime, shingles, boards, timber and labour were cheerfully contributed; and to such an amount as perfectly astonished me."[53] As might be expected, he was the driving force behind the quarrying and building activity, urging his parishioners on by example. A story told by a descendant of one of Cockran's members is

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[50]At the insistence of the clergy, Anderson had his charge published. David Anderson, A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Rupert's Land at his Primary Visitation (London, 1854).

[51]C.M.S.A., I.C., Bishop of Rupert's Land to Rev. H. Venn, November 22, 1849.

[52]Ibid., Cockran, Journal, December 17, 1844.

[53]Ibid., December 31, 1844.

illustrative.

> Mr. Truthwaite, a leading man in the community informed the writer that a certain day was fixed to commence digging for the foundation. He left his home at five o'clock expecting to be the first on the ground, but when he got there Mr. Cockran had already several feet dug.[54]

At times Cockran became exceedingly impatient, stating that when he was unable to supervise the laborious work of quarrying, "The Directors invariably allow them [the men] to disperse."[55] Nevertheless, construction proceeded rapidly. The digging of trenches for the foundation was begun on May 16, 1845 and by June 10, 1846 the stone walls had been raised to a height of 10'6".[56] Planning to retire later that summer, Cockran was "very anxious to get the work well forward" as long as he remained.[57] Construction lapsed during Cockran's brief one year retirement (1846-47), but it received new impetus, according to James, when Cockran returned.[58] It was Cockran's hope and that of the Rapids congregation, that the bishop would choose St. Andrew's, which was to be the largest and most "thoroughly Episcopal" church, for his cathedral.[59] When Anderson decided instead to take over the superintendence of Macallum's Academy and to reside near Upper Church, the members of St. Andrew's were unable to hide their

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[54]Inkster, "William Cochran," p. 46.

[55]C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran, Journal, November 28, 1845.

[56]Ibid., May 16, 1845; June 10, 1846.

[57]Ibid., May 18, 1846.

[58]Ibid., James to the Secretaries, August 2, 1848.

[59]Ibid., August 6, 1849.

disappointment.[60] The completion and consecration of the building itself, however, served as a demonstration to all that the Church of England had become solidly entrenched at Red River.

In 1845 Cockran had reflected on the inadequacy of the system of mission appointments, reminding the Society that they "erred in supposing that any person who comes first to hand will do for Rupert's Land."[61] Supervision of the clergy and other church workers was reorganized and lines of authority drawn with the appointment of a resident bishop. Prior to Anderson's arrival, the authority to direct and control the clergy and to administer the program of the Mission had been an ambiguous and ill-defined process. The senior clergymen in the Mission made decisions with respect to the assignment of duties, seeking the approval of the Society in London, frequently after action had already been taken. For their part, the Society seldom consulted with the missionaries in Red River to determine the suitability of mission appointees. With Anderson in residence, ecclesiastical authority for the entire diocese was finally vested in one man, including clergy appointments and assignments. With the exception of managing Cockran's sometimes ungovernable temper, Anderson did not appear to meet with much difficulty in assuming these responsibilities.

Corresponding to the ecclesiastical transition from mission to diocesan status was a similar financial transition from mission subsidy towards the goal of self-support. Before the establishment of the

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[60] Ibid., Address of the Congregation of Grand Rapids Church to the Bishop, October 26, 1849; The Bishop to the Congregation of Grand Rapids Church, November 6, 1849.

[61] Ibid., Cockran to Rev. R. Davies, August 4, 1845.

bishopric the Anglican Red River Mission program was supported largely by grants and stipends from the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society. Anticipating the increased costs of operating the soon to be established diocese, several of the missionaries held annual public meetings at Lower Church to educate their parishioners about the total mission picture and to make an appeal for greater financial involvement on their part.[62] After Bishop Anderson arrived, the effort to reduce the amount of Society support in Red River continued, with the Rapids congregation being the first to promise to pay the full salary of their pastor.[63]

The first public missionary meeting held after Anderson arrived also reflected the need to reorganize. In England the clergy formed a diocesan society to conduct the affairs of the Church of England while the administration of the mission arm of the church was very much the independent responsibility of laymen and interested clergy.[64] To more closely reflect practices in Britain, the meeting witnessed the establishment of a local Church Missionary Association for Rupert's Land together with a separate Correspondence Committee to administer the business of the mission program.[65] The first regular Diocese meeting of

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[62]The first meeting was held in December, 1847 and the second January 16, 1849. See Ibid., Smithurst, Journal, December 2, 1847 and Smithurst to the Secretary, January 16, 1849.

[63]Ibid., Bishop of Rupert's Land to Rev. H. Venn, November 22, 1849; January 24, 1850.

[64]Very early in the life of the C.M.S., the Evangelicals feared church domination of the missionary enterprise. Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, I, p. 65. Later on, however, the appointment of Bishops to missionary fields was encouraged by the Society.

[65]C.M.S.A., I.C., Bishop of Rupert's Land to Rev. H. Venn, January 22, 1850; also, Ibid., Minutes of Meeting of the Correspondence

the Church of England clergy was also held at that time. The financial support of the Company and Society and other missionary societies[66] did not end with this reorganization. Nevertheless, the administrative apparatus required to make possible the transition to independent governance and self-support had been established.

Bishop Anderson's thinking on the relationship between consolidation in Red River and mission expansion beyond the Settlement soon mirrored that of his colleagues. He wrote "I am convinced that to strengthen Red River is to strengthen Rupert's Land."[67] In addition to concerning himself with consolidating and reorganizing the Church in the Settlement, Anderson started a fresh round of mission expansion. He visited the Cumberland station of The Pas in 1850. A year later he journeyed to Partridge Crop, which he renamed Fairford. In 1852 he went on an exploratory tour to Moose and Albany, looking for prospective mission sites.[68] In the meantime, James scouted the mission possibilities at White Dog on the Winnipeg River in 1851. Cockran, who had journeyed to Ft. Ellice on Beaver Creek in 1850 to see if the reestablishment of a station there was feasible, discovered a more suitable location at Portage la Prairie on his return trip. Ft. Pelly, under the

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Committee held at Red River, October 30, 1850.

[66]For example, the work of Rev. William H. Taylor at St. Jame's, Assiniboia was made possible partly through the support of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. See W. H. Taylor, "William H. Taylor's Journal, Assiniboia, 1851," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society XII (1970):24-36.

[67]C.M.S.A., I.C., Bishop of Rupert's Land to Rev. H. Venn, January 24, 1850.

[68]See David Anderson, The Net in the Bay: Journal of a Visit to Moose and Albany (London, 1854).

care of native catechist Charles Pratt,[69] and the Nepowewin station on the bank of the Saskatchewan River, begun by Henry Budd, were the only new permanent outlying sites established between 1849 and 1852.

Expansion on the part of the Anglican Mission had been frequently met with considerable resistance. Company officials in Rupert's Land were attempting to control the growth of missions in a way that would benefit the commercial interests of the Company and at the same time assuage public opinion in England. In spite of the organizational changes, Governor Eden Colvile still felt that Anderson was "swamping us with these useless black coated fellows"[70] who would be "a heavy drag on our resources."[71] He was not happy with the situation, yet he recognized that there was little he could do. A positive aspect of Anderson's appointment, from the point of view of the Company, was that for the first time, negotiations between the Company and the church were channelled through one man, rather than being subject to the caprices of individual missionaries.[72]

Bishop Anderson was also in a position to put into practice a much more clearly articulated program of native ministry than had been the case before 1849. Native catechists had at first been employed to assist European clergy because of their facility with native languages.

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[69]Pratt was one of the first students to attend Rev. John West's Indian Residential School.

[70]Eden Colvile to George Simpson, September 19, 1850, in Rich, Colvile's Letters, p. 198.

[71]Eden Colvile to Governor and Committee, July 21, 1852, in Ibid., p. 151.

[72]Goosens, "Relationship of the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company," pp. 66-67.

When Europeans could not be supplied in sufficient number to carry out the necessary work of expansion during the early 1840's, expediency dictated that native catechists be used to open new mission stations, always, of course, with the intention of replacing them with European clergy once the station was underway. The differentiation made in the type of duties assigned to them, the lower level of salary they received in comparison with European catechists, and the callous treatment they sometimes received from the newer members of the clergy provoked Joseph Cook to complain to the Society on behalf of all the native catechists. He wrote: "I can assure you, Sir, we are rather beginning to get disgusted with our situations and treatment and the distinction which has been made between us and the European Catechists, and too-much Lordship being exercised over us."[73] Budd and Settee wrote to Cockran as well, objecting to the undignified activities that Rev. James Hunter at The Pas had given them to do. Cockran understood the conventions of fur-trade society well enough to avoid patronizing these lay assistants. The fact that they wrote to him about this matter demonstrates the genuine respect and affection they felt for him. Cockran responded to their concerns by writing to the secretary of the Society suggesting that he hint to Hunter that the missionary change his ways.

> He has been treating them as common labourers. This is never done by the Hudson's Bay Company to any of their Interpreters or Post Masters. And you may rest assured they have studied what is most politic. Mr. Hunter forgets there is no analogy between his position and theirs.[74]

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[73] C.M.S.A., I.C., Joseph Cook to the Secretary, Indian Settlement, July 29, 1846.

[74] Ibid., Cockran to Rev. R. Davies, August 5, 1847.

Attitudes and policies towards native ministry in the Church Missionary Society were becoming much more clearly defined by the time Bishop Anderson took office. Rev. Henry Venn, secretary of the Society from 1841 to 1872, became an extremely influential spokesman for the establishment of self-sufficient native churches served by native pastors.[75] Venn felt that the "most important function of the missionary was to educate and to train the native pastors and evangelists."[76] His instructions to Anderson before leaving for Red River included a plea to regard native catechists Henry Budd and James Settee as candidates for the ministry. In addition, the Society informed Anderson that £500 had been set aside for the establishment of a Seminary for that purpose and that a tutor would be provided.[77]

The death of John Macallum on October 3, 1849 and the wish he expressed in his will that the Academy properties be sold to the bishop, provided Anderson with an immediate opportunity to set a native ministerial program in motion. The mission community, anticipating that Anderson would make St. Andrew's his cathedral church, arranged housing for him in Lower Fort Garry at considerable expense. Anderson, however, felt motivated by providence to purchase the Academy buildings and reside close by. Soon afterwards, he invited Henry Budd and his eldest

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[75] Knight, The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn (London, 1880), p. 307. It is interesting to note, however, that even Venn was prepared to differentiate in salary scales: "the scale [of salary] should have reference to native wants and habits and not to European requirements." Henry Venn to Bishop Anderson, June 5, 1849, quoted in Boon, Anglican Church, p. 65.

[76] Usher, "Apostles and Aborigines," p. 43.

[77] Henry Venn to Bishop Anderson, June 5, 1849, quoted in Boon, Anglican Church, p. 65.

son, James Settee's eldest son and several other boys from Norway House to become his first students.[78] The Red River Academy was to be renamed 'St. John's Collegiate School,' part of which would become St. John's College devoted to native ministry.[79] Although several of the resident clergy had reservations about the wisdom of Anderson's decision to operate the Academy and the College together, Anderson went ahead at St. John's, ordaining to deacons orders the first native clergyman, Rev. Henry Budd, on December 22, 1850.

Writing in 1844, Cockran claimed that the establishment of a bishopric in the North West was an absolute necessity. He argued that in order to "perpetuate the existence and increase the influence of the Episcopal Church in Rupert's Land,"[80] nothing less would suffice. With this statement, Cockran fittingly gave expression to the theme which dominated the concerns and activities of the Anglican missionaries in Red River between 1838 and 1849. In "perpetuating the existence" and "increasing the influence" of the Mission, the real issue at stake was security. Security, in the minds of the missionaries, involved greater stability for the Mission, the freedom to act without interference and sound guarantees with respect to the future status of the Mission. Not until the establishment of the diocese in 1849 was clearly in sight, however, was James prepared to claim that the

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[78] C.M.S.A., I.C., Bishop of Rupert's Land to Rev. H. Venn, November 22, 1849.

[79] For further details on the early development of St. John's College see John W. Fraser, "A History of St. John's College, Winnipeg" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1966).

[80] C.M.S.A., I.C., Cockran to the Secretaries, n.d., rec'd October 16, 1844.

"Saviour's Church had now firmly 'strengthened her stakes.'"[81]

With the arrival of Bishop Anderson in 1849 a new era in the history of the Anglican Church in the North West began. The Anglican Red River Mission's career at the same time drew to a close. During the twenty-nine years since its inception in 1820 the Mission had experienced a series of historical developments, concluding with its absorption by the diocese of Rupert's Land in 1849. Problems which were encountered in founding the Mission were largely overcome by 1826. By that date the missionaries had made a satisfactory adjustment to their new working environment. They had also developed effective "means of persuasion" designed to win converts and to bring the benefits of British Christian civilization to the inhabitants of the Settlement. The unsettling socio-political relations which had marked affairs in the Settlement before 1826 quickly gave way to a period of relative peace and order. At that point also, earlier failures gave way to success. The satisfactory working relationships that were established between the missionaries and the various communities in the Mission allowed these successes to be sustained into the 1830's.

The relationship between the Anglican missionaries and their Kildonan, Country-born and Indian parishioners was functional in nature. Jones and Cockran attempted to provide leadership and to meet the legitimate needs of their congregations as they perceived them. Their parishioners responded positively in choosing to become members of the Mission. Each of the communities recognized and employed the Mission as a vehicle through which important individual and community goals

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[81] Ibid., James to the Secretary, August 6, 1849.

could be met. Cultural integrity, of utmost importance to the Kildonan Scots, was not sacrificed in the Anglican Mission. For the Country-born, mission parish life and routine offered an acceptable alternative to their previous trading post experience. For Peguis and some of his followers, attachment to the Mission provided a similar opportunity in addition to meeting their needs for basic food and clothing supplies.

While the Mission continued to expand, Jones and Cockran approached their work with enthusiasm. By the late 1830's, however, optimism about the future of the Mission had given way to despair. Owing to the particular limitations of manpower in the Mission, the expected departure of Jones was of grave concern. Also aware of the possible consequences of legal and financial dependence on their co-sponsors, the Hudson's Bay Company, and afraid of competition from other denominations for control and influence, the missionaries were uncertain and apprehensive about the Mission's future. Jones' departure in 1838 marked an important turning point in the activities of the Mission. Expansion of the Mission's numbers was the prevailing theme throughout the period preceding 1838. After that date, a quest for greater security for the Mission emerged as a primary consideration.

Having perceived "manpower," "competitive" and "obstructionist" threats to the continuation of the Mission, the missionaries in Red River began to try to preserve and defend their past achievements. They endeavoured to do so by seeking to rationalize the use of staff members in the best interests of the Mission, by countering the influence of their Roman Catholic and Wesleyan competitors with the founding of mission stations beyond Red River, and by attempting to protect from outside interference their property and jurisdictional interests.

The security that the local missionaries were seeking through their own efforts, however, escaped them. The visit of Bishop Mountain of Montreal in 1844 emphasized the fact that the missionaries' efforts to strengthen the Mission on their own account had not resulted in the degree of stability and security which they desired for the Mission. Although the final decision to establish the bishopric was made in London, the missionaries in Red River would leave little doubt in the minds of the Secretaries of their Missionary Society that it was their fervent wish that this measure be enacted hastily. The creation of the diocese was in the end very much in keeping with their interest in placing the Mission "on a more secure footing." Cockran wrote: "We shall now have a person at our head, whose duty and interest shall agree with our own."[82]

The renewed sense of direction and reorganization which accompanied the change to diocesan status was in fact the denouement in the quest for greater security. The outcome involved the formalization of a method for securing church property, more clearly defined responsibility for clergy appointments and supervision, and the encouragement of greater financial independence. The setting up of a new administrative apparatus, new efforts to expand the mission work of the Church, and the clear articulation of a program for training and employing native church workers for the Rupert's Land diocese completed the changes. The change in status also marked the end of the career of the Anglican Mission in Red River. When the Royal Letters Patent under the Great seal, dated

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[82]Ibid., Cockran to the Secretary, August 1, 1849.

May 21, 1849,[83] set up the Diocese of Rupert's Land, the Mission was subsumed by an administrative unit responsible for all the territories in the Arctic and Hudson's Bay drainage basins. The Church in Red River had quite clearly entered a new era in its development.

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[83]Boon, Anglican Church, p. 60.

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